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Constance Elam

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**The Dissertation Committee for Constance Elam certifies that
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**That's Just the Way It Was: Teacher Experiences in
Appalachian Kentucky, 1930-1960**

Committee:

Mary S. Black, Supervisor

O. L. Davis, Jr.

Sherry Field

Norvell Northcutt

Mary Lee Webeck

**That's Just the Way It Was: Teacher Experiences in
Appalachian Kentucky, 1930-1960**

by

Constance Elam, B.S., M.A.

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**That's Just the Way It Was: Teacher Experiences in
Appalachian Kentucky, 1930-1960**

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Supervisor: Mary S. Black

This study used the qualitative methods of archive research and oral history to examine the schooling experiences and perspectives of Pike County public school teachers in Appalachian Kentucky from 1930 to 1960. The results of the research may lead to a better understanding of teaching in rural environments and illuminate the effects of poverty, geography, and culture on the development of public education in Appalachian Kentucky. Pike County is the largest county in Kentucky and is located on the eastern Appalachian border of

the state. Pike County's geography is quite mountainous and has only one industry: coal. The largest employer in the county is the school district.

Sixteen retired teachers were interviewed. Data analysis suggested three particular relationships with teaching: teaching and family; teaching and community; and teaching and the care ethic. Findings were examined through three socio-cultural models (i.e., cultural difference, colonialism, underdevelopment), as well as cultural geography and environmental determinism models. Findings suggest the introduction of a cultural environmental model that more clearly and completely explains the phenomena discussed in the study. However, the cultural environmental model may be situational to Appalachia.

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A country road in eastern Pike County - 2002

‘Myths are potent enough to survive evidence; they are not disarmed by understanding. Once myths gain currency, they become real and function as self-fulfilling prophecies.’ (Dwight Billings, 1974, p.322)

Chapter One

Kentucky Education History

The mountains of Appalachian Kentucky are at once breathtakingly beautiful and drearily sorrowful. Nature is responsible for the beauty, but man is responsible for the sorrow. The people are generally hardworking and independent with strong bonds to the land and their families, yet they are also complacent, dependent, and fatalistic. Part of the population puts great store in educating their children; others do not. Outsiders may not easily understand the dichotomy, but I know these statements to be true because I was born, raised, and educated in Kentucky. My family roots and close friendships are in Appalachia, and I went to college in eastern Kentucky to become the only thing I could imagine myself being – a teacher.

I have often heard that you should “write what you know”. Thus, choosing a dissertation topic was not a difficult decision for me - I wrote about what I know. Interestingly, I did not realize that Appalachia was so different from the rest of the world until I left. I also did not realize that the rest of the world had a stereotypical view of Appalachians as ignorant hillbillies. Interestingly, when my husband was explaining my dissertation to some business colleagues at a Chicago convention recently, one of the gentlemen asked him, “What are *those*

people like? Aren't you concerned about her being there alone?" Evidently, stereotypes die hard. Subsequently, I feel fortunate to have the opportunity to inform the reader of the truth; revealing the teachers' truth, not my truth, is the ultimate purpose of this study.

Research Question: What were teachers' experiences in public school in Pike County, Kentucky 1930 – 1960?

Secondary questions include: What were teacher motivations? How did environment affect human behavior? How did culture affect decision-making? Were the teaching experiences of Pike County teachers different from the rest of Kentucky and the country during the same time frame?

Data for this study were gathered by archival and oral history methodology. The foundation of the data is the interviews of retired teachers in Pike County Kentucky. I chose Pike County for the location of this study for two reasons. First, I have strong friendship ties from Eastern Kentucky University to the education community in Pike County. Secondly, Pike County is the largest county in the state and the center of Appalachian Kentucky. Archival data was often easier to obtain from individuals because of my personal relationships and ties to the community.

Significance of Study

This study has significance in several research areas. First, the study fills gaps in rural education development. Rural education has generally been the stepchild of education research, and understandably so. The "one best system" in 20th century United States has been the urban model (Cuban, 1993; Tyack &

Cuban, 1995). Secondly, the study fills gaps in Appalachian education development, particularly in Kentucky, and addresses Appalachian stereotypes. Lastly, this study fills an enormous gap in education development of a neglected minority: poor Whites. Appalachian Kentucky has always been overwhelmingly White. Many counties in the mountains had no Blacks whatsoever until the 1920s coal boom, and most left when the coal industry went bust. Despite later coal industry booms, the number of Blacks in the area was almost negligible. Appalachian Kentucky has also been predominantly poor for generations. Poor, rural, White, and Appalachian has not been a combination of particular interest in education history and development research.

Kentucky Education History, 1792-1960

The two most comprehensive education histories on Kentucky are McVey's The Gates Open Slowly (1949) and Ligon's Bureau of School Service Report (1942). McVey, a former president of the University of Kentucky, chose a most descript title for his book; public education in Kentucky developed very slowly. These two Kentucky historians, as well as others, do not document a particularly remarkable education history, but all agree on an arrested development and the reasons for the slow growth of the state's public school system (Clarke, 1997, 1947; Ligon, 1942; Wilson, 1928). Ligon refers to these reasons as the "Law of Inheritance" because the social, political, economic, and religious principles that shaped Kentucky's education history were passed down from England to Virginia to Kentucky (p. 9). This chapter is drawn primarily from these four sources.

Kentucky's education history can be described in numerous contradictory terms: proud or shameful; progressive or backward; essential or unnecessary; ethical or corrupt; broad-minded or narrow-minded. Each description is in some way truthful, depending on one's perspective. The contributing factors producing such ambiguities in Kentucky's education history lie in the interwoven positive and negative differences throughout the state: geographical differences; urban-rural differences; and economic-class differences. Ultimately, the Appalachian counties in eastern Kentucky represented the negative side of these geographical, social, and economic differences.

Statehood to 1850.

The first schools in Kentucky were the "old field" and "hedgerow" schools, fashioned after the pioneer fort schools. They were so-named for their neglected locations. The well-to-do citizens had their children tutored at home. The state's first settlers were the Scottish, Irish, English, and Germans and all strongly believed that education, like religion, was a matter of personal, not public concern. Hence, the drafters of the first state Constitution of 1792 reflected the same personal doctrine (Ligon, 1942; McVey, 1949).

Kentucky became the fifteenth state of the United States in 1792. However, the state's first constitution, as well as the second constitution in 1799, made no mention or provision for public education. Because Kentucky received no help from the federal government in the tasks of establishing a government, building roads, or creating a system of land survey or title description, education was not a high priority of the people or the legislators. A system of private

academies founded by religious denominations, stock companies, and private individuals emerged. The academies' purpose at that time was to prepare students for university so they were located in populated areas and charged tuition. Rural areas and the common people were left without adequate schooling.

The state legislature finally accepted the fact that public sentiment was beginning to support county academies as a means of public education, and passed legislation in 1808 that approved the county academy scheme. However, strong opposition to taxes still prevented any appropriation of monies. Since land was plentiful and money was scarce in the new state, funding of the academies were in the form of six thousand acre land grants. The academies sold the land for \$.50 an acre. Unfortunately, the sale of the land was barely enough to buy a plot of land and build a schoolhouse leaving tuition as the only resort to keep the school open. Political leaders were not interested in the schools open at public expense because less than 25% of Kentucky's school age children attended the private or county academies.

Politicians believed that giving each chartered academy public land at its inception was the state's only responsibility to education and the legislature consistently failed to vote for funds to a public school system. The academy system was a great disappointment and declared a total failure by the state legislature in 1821. Consequently, the legislature appointed a committee to investigate the Federal procedure of receiving land grants for education.

1850 to 1930.

The third state constitution of 1850 mentioned education but failed to require the legislature to levy taxes for school purposes. The voters of the state approved proposals to levy state taxes for public education in the 1849, 1855, 1869, and 1882 elections, but the legislature consistently refused to act. The real beginning of public education in Kentucky came in 1870 when the state legislature passed an act implementing the system set up by the 1838 legislature. Between 1838 and 1870, appropriations were made to support Transylvania University (later the University of Kentucky) and to found county academies. However, no general taxes were levied by the legislature to follow through with funding the county academies.

Finally, the fourth constitution of 1891 provided for a system of common schools throughout the state, as well as funding for the schools through the School Fund and taxation. The final step toward the establishment of a public education system came in 1904, with the state legislature mandating monetary support and supervision of a public school system. Thus, a true public school system with funding and full powers of administration did not exist in Kentucky until the 20th century (Clark, 1997; Ligon, 1942; McVey, 1949).

The last decade of the 1800s was a very active time for the Kentucky legislature and education, and their focus changed from building and organizing a statewide public school system to teaching and the best interests of the school-age children. Legislative acts were passed in 1893 outlining teacher qualifications. Teacher certification exams were administered within the county of employment with the following requirements: the applicant must be at least twenty-four years

old; be of good moral character; and score an average of ninety per cent on the English, literature, physiology, algebra, higher arithmetic, geometry, physics, and elementary Latin sections of the test. Teachers that met all the requirements were certified for life and able to teach in any school or grade.

Teacher salaries ranged between \$9.00 and \$28.00 a month in 1884, and the school term ranged from three to seven months throughout the state. Certain areas provided free boarding with area families as a supplement to salary and incentive to teach in rural areas. Teacher salaries grew to over \$40.00 a month by the end of the century.

School attendance in Kentucky's public schools has historically been disgraceful and inconsistent. In the late 1890s average school attendance was only 36%, reflecting to some degree the public's low priority of schooling for their children, and naturally harsh conditions making attendance difficult, if not impossible in rural areas. Kentucky finally passed compulsory attendance laws in 1896, mandating children ages seven through eleven years of age attend school at least eight consecutive weeks. The majority of the Kentucky people were outraged with the new law, which they believed was an example of government crossing the line and interfering with parental decisions. However, the outrage was unnecessary. The law provided no enforcement measures, and attendance rates were unaffected for some time. The minimum school term was lengthened to five months, and Kentucky's per pupil spending was ranked fourth in the South.

The Kentucky legislature was called the Education Legislature in 1908 because the General Assembly passed many laws concerning education in the attempt to improve public education in the state. The most significant law established the county as a unit of school administration. The county organizational scheme was particularly beneficial to rural counties with sparse populations. However, the State School Fund monies were distributed to the school districts on a per capita basis of school enrollment, which gave urban schools a distinct economic advantage over rural schools. Subsequently, the population basis for disbursement of state funds was dropped in 1912 (McVey, 1949).

State lawmakers also made important fiscal decisions. Kentucky education could no longer depend on the voluntary voting of property taxes in support of education. Consequently, each county was ordered to levy \$.20 per \$100 worth of taxable property to be used only for local education. The state also “suggested” that a high school be maintained in each county, preferably located in the county seat. Prior to 1908 there were fewer than fifty high schools and 5,000 high school students in a state with over one hundred counties. Many rural counties had no secondary schools. Two years later the school term was lengthened to seven months, usually July through January, and in 1914 the state mandated that each county must have a high school.

Between 1917 and 1922 there was much happening in the country and in Kentucky. When the U.S. Congress passed the Smith-Hughes Vocation-Education Act in 1917, Kentucky had 8,115 public schools; 87% were one-room

schools and 123 were log dwellings. The following year the Kentucky legislature established a Division of Vocation Education Department despite the fact that Kentucky ranked forty-fourth in the nation in expenditures per student.

By 1920, fifty percent of Kentucky schools were still rural schools; 75% of the rural schools were one-room. The decade of the 1920s brought many significant changes to Kentucky education. County boards were allowed to issue bonds for the purchase of land or buildings and employ an attendance officer. A teacher certification process was established on the basis of training, and the county teacher institutes were replaced with summer teacher training schools conducted by the state. Minimum pay for teachers increased to \$75 per month, and provisions were made for teaching thrift and physical training. Additionally, two more normal schools were upgraded to teacher's colleges to service the eastern and western parts of the state (Ligon, 1942; McVey, 1949). However, teacher examinations were finally removed from the local level and administered by the state due to cheating and unethical behavior of county officials.

A national recession was underway, and the coal mining industry was hard-hit. The state constitution was amended to prohibit the state from building its own roads through counties; only counties could build the roads with the state limited to helping with planning. The people were told that roads would bring new wealth to their counties, so a flurry of bond issues was passed and a multitude of county roads throughout the state was built on credit. The 1920s ended very badly in Kentucky. The Depression actually started in the coalfields

two years before the rest of the country, and a great blight wiped out every chestnut tree in the state, as if an omen of the hard times ahead.

Education History 1930 - 1960

1930s.

The U.S. Census reported that Kentucky was 70% rural in 1930, and rural areas did not experience the Depression in the same manner as urban areas. Ironically, the years of the Depression in the 1930s was probably one of the most productive periods for education legislature in Kentucky. Although the Depression was a period of great distress in social and economic affairs, the record of public education was one of real achievement. The state began the decade ranked 41st in the nation in per pupil expenditures. Nonetheless, the legislature and the Department of Education passed education laws and re-organized the public education system.

The first legislation of the decade passed the Equalization Bill in 1930. This bill attempted to solve the economic inequalities of the state-funding scheme, and provided an additional \$1,250,000 to poor districts in an effort to level the economic playing field with wealthier districts. Unfortunately, the Kentucky courts declared the Equalization Bill unconstitutional in 1932. The financial and economic discrepancy between poor and wealthy school districts continued.

However, the most significant work by the General Assembly and the Department of Education was producing the School Code of 1933, published as the “Kentucky Common School Laws”. Once changes and revisions were complete, all education legislation and school regulations were bound into one

useable book, a feat that had never been accomplished. A full description of the New School Code cannot be fully explored in this study, but some of the particulars were: increased the responsibilities of the new State Board of Education; revised district requirements, curriculum, and teacher certification; revised census and compulsory attendance laws with enforcement powers; improved financial administration by adopting a uniform financial accounting system; designed uniform salary-schedule; standardized requirements for high school accreditation; and addressed the increasingly unequal distribution of population and wealth by assigning the state a larger share of the financial responsibility.

Before 1933 the state education system was ordered in three types of school districts: county; independent; and city in 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th class. The new code reduced districts to two types: independent graded with at least 250 school age children in the school census; and the county district. The school code also addressed the need for uniform certification for teachers. Beginning in 1935, a Bachelor's degree was required to teach high school, and in 1936, a high school diploma was required to teach elementary school.

By this time there were 4,383 one-room schools in the state. Small communities losing population to urban areas were urged to consolidate, especially since ten years of road improvements had been underway. Consolidation was considered the remedy to the problem of equality of educational opportunity between urban and rural schools. However, district trustees in rural communities did not favor school consolidation for lack of

finances, and the state board admitted that consolidation was not always possible in poor rural communities. The state board realized that consolidation in urban areas had been relatively easy and successful because the schools experienced few problems.

The Federal government also contributed to a somewhat successful period of school and road construction. First, \$316,000 was given to the state in 1933 by emergency appropriations to extend the school year. Second, the Public Works Administration (PWA) completed 35 buildings and additions, the Work Projects Administration (WPA) completed 123 buildings and additions, and the National Youth Administration (NYA) finished 34 projects in the state of Kentucky. The Federal government gave Kentucky \$3.5 million for the projects.

A look at Education Bulletins published in 1935 by the Kentucky Department of Education reveals the scope of the improvements that were addressed. Some of the titles were: Problems in the Organization and Supervision of Instruction; Regulation Governing the Sanitary and Protection Construction of Public School Buildings; Organization and Rating of Kentucky High Schools; Organization of Instruction in Elementary Grades; Present Status of Public Education in Kentucky; and Teacher Training and Certification Laws and Regulations.

By the end of the decade, quite a number of improvements had been accomplished. Ninety thousand school children were transported to and from school 60,000 miles a day with 1,600 vehicles. Twenty-one additional high schools had been accredited in the state. Eleven thousand two hundred seventy-

one student was enrolled in vocational education and agriculture in the state's 221 high schools. Ninety-two percent of certified teachers had at least two years of college. The Depression was over, the economy was recovering, and things seemed to be getting back to normal. However, the next decade was not exactly normal either - the 1940s were the war years (Biennial, 1931-1933; 1933-1935; 1935-1937; 1937-1939).

1940s.

World War II and the rebuilding after the war dominated the decade of the 1940s. Kentucky had increased the pupil expenditure to \$48.00, but that was only half of the \$94.00 national average. Sixty-five percent of the schools were still one-room, and Kentucky ranked last in attendance in the South. Ninety-five percent of U.S. children received an elementary education, whereas only sixty-three percent of Kentucky's children received an elementary education. The state superintendent's report declared 763,379 school age children in the census. However, the report also revealed that only 599,467 were enrolled in school and only 553,923 actually attended school regularly. That means that over 200,000 school age children were not receiving an education (Biennial, 1939-1941).

The decade began with 592 high schools in the state and every county had at least one. The majority of high schools served over 100 students, but there were still over 150 high schools that enrolled less than one hundred students. However, within a few years the number of high schools had dropped to 555.

The National Defense Training and War Production Training programs in the state received \$555,610 from the Federal government in addition to monies

received from the Smith-Hughes Act. The two federal training programs offered classes in auto mechanics, metal work, woodwork, elementary electricity, and food production. In fact, the War Production Training Program served more students in the state than any other vocation program. One hundred eighty-seven thousand students participated in the two war production programs in two years (Biennial, 1941-1943).

The war effort negatively affected the public school system in numerous ways. First, the state was losing students, over 60,000 in three years. The decrease in students was greater in the rural areas. Secondly, teachers were leaving the profession at an alarming rate to work in higher paying factories or joining the military service to fight. An average teacher's salary during wartime was \$750 for a seven and three-quarters month term. Kentucky lost approximately 5,000 teachers a year in the early 1940s. By 1945 the state had to use 5,200 uncertified or emergency certificate teachers or be forced to close schools. Fifty percent of the emergency teachers were employed in one-room schools. One-third of the attendance officers in the state left their jobs and joined the military (Biennial, 1941-1943; 1943-1945).

The Education Bulletin in April of 1945 entitled "High School in War-Time Regulations" reported the problems that high schools were experiencing during war. Loss of enrollments, fewer and less qualified teachers, and the reduction of materials for bus maintenance and repair were cited as serious problems. Despite the patriotism, the juvenile delinquency rate was on the rise in the 1940s, and the state superintendent made an interesting observation in this

report. He believed that tension and strain from the war led to a breakdown in character.

Nevertheless, the State Superintendent's report in 1949 listed many areas of improvement and progress. In summary, the report listed: Division of Education for Exceptional Children created; uniform records and reports were now kept on transportation for every district; the Equalization Fund was strengthened; the vocation-agriculture education program experienced huge growth and added home economics to the program; local financial support for local schools increased; and the number of emergency certificate teachers declined (Biennial, 1947-1949).

Even though an amendment to the Constitution approved 10% of the School Fund to be disbursed to districts on the basis of need in 1941 and 25% in 1949, school salaries averaged \$1,500 a year, placing Kentucky fortieth in the nation for teaching salaries. The state's capital outlay for education increased 214% through the 1940s, whereas the South's increase was 667% for the same time period. Kentucky ranked last in the nation for days in school, spending sixteen fewer days in class, and ranked last in the nation for percent of population over twenty-five with a high school diploma. High quality education in Kentucky did not look probable going into the 1950s (Biennial, 1941-1943; 1943-1945; 1945-1947; 1947-1949).

1950s.

The 1950s in Kentucky were rather disquieting. While the rest of the country was prospering and "living better through technology", Kentucky

experienced what historians have called the “great exodus” (Caudill, 1963; McVey, 1949; Weller, 1965). Rural Kentucky had little or no job opportunities and because of generational poverty, many citizens, as well as teachers, left the state. Most eastern Kentuckians went north toward Detroit via the I-75 corridor, while western Kentuckians went north through Indiana toward Chicago. Industrialization provided scores of good-paying factory jobs in the upper Midwest. Only a few urban counties in Kentucky did not experience the great exodus.

Kentucky education was not necessarily prospering either, and poor rural counties suffered the most, as always. Finally, the General Assembly established the Foundation Program of Education in 1954 in order to provide greater balance in school funding to help the poorer counties. This legislative act has been described as the “most important and progressive piece of school legislation which has ever been enacted by any Kentucky Legislature” (Biennial, 1953-1955, p. 251). This act finally resolved the problem of state funding for the poor counties. The Equalization Bill of 1930 attempted to solve the problem, but was struck down by the courts as unconstitutional. The Foundation Program amended the state constitution and changed the method in which state funds were distributed to the counties.

The Foundation Program was considered a partnership between the state and the district. Local districts were urged to increase their school taxes as a sign that they were trying to help themselves. Where the state funds would go was decided by who had the greatest need and the least financial ability in relation to

that need. Additionally, distribution of funds would no longer be figured on the school census, but on average daily attendance. In other words, funding was decided on the number of children who actually went to school. This change improved the state average daily attendance by 5.9% in just two years (Biennial, 1955-1957).

All school districts in the state had several very serious problems in the 1950s with: crumbling, unsafe, and overcrowded schools; low teacher salaries with one-fourth of the teachers unqualified for full certification; 2,600 one-room schools; and inadequate and unsafe transportation. The Foundation Program was supposed to solve these problems, as well. The state superintendent boldly pronounced, “Here is a program designed not for the teacher nor the school administrator but for the child” (Biennial 1953-1955, p. 256).

However, at the close of the decade, teacher’s salaries ranked 48th in the nation. More than half of the school buildings in the state were built before availability of fire-resistant materials; and one-half of Kentucky’s 120 counties were on relief. Had it not been for relief, most rural counties would not have had lunch programs in their schools. The number of small rural schools was decreasing because of consolidation. Nevertheless, Kentucky entered the 1960s with 2,800 elementary schools, of which 2,243 of those schools had less than eight teachers. The top three most common schools were: 1,382 one-teacher schools; 434 two-teacher schools; and 149 three-teacher schools. With so many economic problems, education remained stagnant overall (Biennial, 1951-1953; 1953-1955; 1955-1957; 1957-1959).

I attended elementary school in the 1950s, and heard adults speak the phrase “Thank God for Mississippi” many times. I did not understand until later what that meant. Kentucky ranked next to last in most education categories – Mississippi was last. Thank God for Mississippi!

Pike County Education History

The first settlers through the Appalachian Mountains into Kentucky were the English, the Scottish, the Irish, and the Germans. They were a strong and stubborn lot, opinionated and often cruel (McVey, 1949; Weller, 1965). This collective group reflected the perennial frontiersmen interested in freedom from the restraints of law, order, and a differing culture. Settling into wealth, comfort, and the benefits of a regulated society was not their dream or preference (Caudill, 1963; Weller). People who settled in the mountains were rugged, ingenious, and wanted to be left alone. When commerce, industry, and education were growing and developing in many parts of the nation, as well as elsewhere in the state, little of this progress found its way into the mountains (Caudill, 1963; Clarke, 1997; Shapiro, 1978). The mountaineers did not want change. For this reason, all they had to show for their struggles was generations of isolation, poverty, inadequate schooling, and government neglect.

One particularly strong mindset adversely affected the development of public education in Kentucky for many years: the belief that schooling was a private matter, and not the business of state or local governments to provide a free education at public expense (Clark, 1997; Ligon, 1942; McVey, 1949). Rural communities in particular viewed education as a privilege for the rich, a privilege

the poor did not need nor could afford. Tax increases to provide money for education were soundly and consistently voted down in the Appalachian counties (McVey, 1949).

Rural areas were not as supportive of taxation and public education as the rest of the state, thus education developed even slower in those areas. McVey (1949) summarized the reasons for opposition of local taxation to support public schools that reflected the thinking of the time: opposition to state supported schools; opposition to any tax; the state should carry the full burden of taxation; privately-owned schools were considered satisfactory; the masses did not realize the value of education; people were generally dissatisfied with the quality of teaching; and economic development and a stable banking system were considered more important than public schools. This thinking was especially true in the sparsely populated and poor Appalachian Mountain areas where people thought free meant state money, not their own money.

Pike County was formed in 1822 and is centrally located in the Appalachian Mountain range on the eastern border of Kentucky. The county is generally representative of the wide range of Appalachian sociological and geographical characteristics. Pike County is the largest of Kentucky's 120 counties with 788 square miles of mountains, waterways, and forests. The topography is highly dissected upland with irregular mountain ridges and borders both West Virginia and Virginia on the eastern boundary. The highest elevation in the county is 3,149 feet. One-half of the land in Pike County is deeded to absentee owners (Appalachian Land Ownership Task Force, 1988).

1822 – 1900.

Specific facts on Pike County's education history in the nineteenth century are sketchy and difficult to document. Most information was found through oral history sources. Early schools in Pike County were field schools, subscription schools, and neighborhood schools. The academy system was the school scheme in place at the time, and generally only the well to do citizens made arrangements for their children to get an education. Teachers were often "itinerant ne'er-do-wells" with no family. A teacher's salary in 1885 was fifteen to twenty dollars a month plus one dollar a week for board (Ligon, 1942).

However, three particular events happened that improved teaching in Pike County. In the summer of 1872 Pike County held its first Teacher's Institute. The institute lasted four days with several presentations given each day by different educators in the state. The institutes were like present-day workshops and were often a week long with two sessions in the day and one in the evening. Teaching method and curriculum and how to improve each were the topics discussed. Seventy teachers attended Pike County's first institute (Deskins, 1994).

The following year, the State Department of Education began sending teacher exams to all the counties, encouraging local trustees and superintendents to use the exams before hiring teachers. The decision to use the exams was left to the local school officials, but this was the first attempt to qualify teachers in some manner (McVey, 1949).

The last event of considerable importance to education in Pike County was the founding of Pikeville College in 1889, just eight years after the 1891 State Constitution set forth the framework for a common school system in Kentucky. In 1890, Pikeville College started teacher training classes. This event was quite remarkable because at this point in time, anyone could teach school with just an eighth grade education (Deskins, 1994).

1900 – 1920.

At the turn of the century Pike County had 207 school buildings spread throughout the hollows, mountainsides, and along the creeks; 64 were log, 68 were wood frame, and 75 were brick or stone. Superintendent L.J. Johnson wrote in his report to the state superintendent that the schools were in very unsatisfactory condition (Biennial 1901-1903). He considered the people partly to blame because they did not even come out to vote for their schools' trustees. Thus, the previous superintendent appointed 90% of the 136 trustees.

Needless to say, politics had much to do with a trustee position. Unfortunately, the trustees were often not only unqualified, they were practically illiterate. Moreover, the trustee held the power of hiring and firing teachers, as well as deciding the amount of money spent on their schools. The county had one library with eighteen books.

Pike County employed 137 teachers in 1902, 113 male and 24 female, none of which had any normal school training or full state certification. A teacher's salary was approximately \$34.00 a month. Student enrollment was 7,237 with a 48% attendance rate. The county school district had no high school

until 1908. These statistics reflect a classroom of approximately 50 students in every one-room school. Little change took place in the county school district between 1900 and 1920. The coal industry was quite successful at this time, building numerous coal towns with their own schools in Pike County (Beachley, 1934; Shiffett, 1991). The coal camp schools were generally better equipped and maintained with certified teachers, often brought in from out-of-state. The state and the county superintendents encouraged consolidation by the end of the 1920s, but Pike County did not have the finances to even consider consolidation at that time (Biennial, 1903-1905 through 1927-1929).

1930s.

Pike County began the 1930s with an economy that began struggling two years earlier. Nevertheless, when school data was charted over the decade, all of the economic category totals finished the decade with positive increases, except for property taxes. Economic categories dipped in 1932 noticeably, but maintained a steady, slow rise in the following years. The school census increased 22% by 1939; school enrollment and attendance records increased 12% and 25% respectively. However, the high school data alone reflect important growth in the county's education history. (Biennial, 1931-1933; 1933-1935; 1935-1937; 1937-1939).

Both high school enrollment and attendance data doubled during the 1930s. Enrollment began with 715 students, dipped to 403 in 1934-35, then ended the decade with 1,381. Thus, high school enrollment increased 93% over the decade. Attendance records reflect the same pattern, beginning with 603

students. Attendance dipped to 328 in 1934-1935, yet ended the decade with 1,220. High school attendance during the decade doubled. This data appeared to document the demise of the attitude that completing eight grades of schooling was enough.

Finances of the school system, disbursements and imbursements, also showed overall growth except for property taxes. The State Fund dropped 14% in 1933, considerably increased the following years, and finished the decade with a 116% increase from 1930. Property tax income was dismal. Income dropped 45% in 1933, increased for a few years, and ended the decade with a 30% deficit from the 1930 income. Luckily, the State Fund income increases more than made up for the property tax losses.

All expense categories reflected considerable growth by the end of the decade as transportation costs began. A transportation expense of \$504 was recorded for the first time in 1934. The expense by the end of the decade had steam-rolled to \$18,697. Teacher-principal salary expense, the largest expense for the district, followed the pattern of dropping in 1933 and rebounding by the end of the decade with a 76% increase overall. By the end of the decade the coal camp schools had been absorbed by the county district due to the closing of many of the coal mines and coal towns.

1940s.

The influence of the United States' involvement in World War II in the 1940s was reflected in the biennial reports for Pike County (1941-1943; 1943-1945; 1945-1947; 1947-1949). Enrollment and attendance in Pike County ISD

were generally stable during the 1940s. After a loss in 1943, both categories slowly increased during the rest of the decade. Attendance increased by 13% for the decade, but the difference between enrollment and attendance remained approximately 2,000 students the entire decade. The school term increased after the war from seven months to eight and a half months. However, all categories of expenditures and income had tremendously increased by 1949.

The State Fund income had consistent increases each year between 1940-1944. However, there was hardly a change in dollar amount from 1944 to 1946. In 1947 the State Fund income made an incredible jump from \$422,976 to \$692,955 and closed out the decade at \$660,132, a 135% increase for the decade. Property tax income likewise increased steadily each year and had an incredible increase in 1947. The amount received from local taxes in 1946 was \$144,856, and jumped to \$312,967 the following year. Local property tax income increased 250% from the beginning to the end of the decade. In fact, 1947 was the first year that both total receipts and total expenditures in Pike County were over one million dollars.

Expenses for the school district also skyrocketed and five new expense categories were added: a health services expense in 1940; an attendance enforcement expense in 1940; a community services expense in 1941; a national defense expense in 1941; and a school lunch program in 1943. As always, the biggest expense for the district was instructional salaries, which had nearly tripled in ten years. Instructional salaries were \$337,901 in 1940 and \$976,245 in 1949. Increases of \$200,000 in instructional salaries occurred in 1946 and again in 1947.

As for the new expense categories, the school lunch program began in 1943 at a cost of \$2,300 and soared to \$45,000 in just five years. The health services expense began at \$1,025 in 1940 and closed the decade with a \$4,556 cost. The other two new expense categories were only temporary. The National Defense expense was approximately \$10,000 in 1942 and 1943, dropped to \$3,500 in 1944 and was phased out in 1945. Attendance enforcement was budgeted once the Kentucky Legislature provided enforcement to the mandatory attendance law. The enforcement cost by the county was approximately \$7,500 per year from 1940 through 1944.

1950s.

The 1950s was a decade of contradictions in Appalachian Kentucky and for the Pike County Independent School District, as well. The boys were back from the war, the baby boom was on, industrialization and modernism was the new paradigm, and progress was the watchword in American society. This new paradigm was not the case in Pike County. The “great exodus” from Kentucky was on, industry had never really taken to Pike County, and the public school system was trying to play catch-up the best it could (Ford, 1962).

However, the Kentucky Legislature, in an effort to help poor counties that did not have the tax base or wherewithal to improve their public schools, passed the Foundation Program in 1954 which provided additional monies from the state. The Foundation also based the monies allotted to each county on attendance, not the school census. Although Pike County’s school census had dropped 3.6% by 1959, enrollment and attendance slowly increased approximately 5% over the

decade. Students completing four years of high school more than doubled from 302 in 1950 to 635 by 1959. An additional 137 teachers were hired and the school term increased to nine months for both primary and secondary schools in 1950.

Both income and expenses increased considerably over the ten years. The School Fund for Pike County increased by 179%, beginning with \$705,348 and ending with \$1,969,034. Unfortunately, property tax income decreased 8% over the same period of time from \$389,180 to \$357,278. The lack of local tax money did not hurt the district only because the School Fund monies had increased so much. Total revenues increased 68% by the end of the decade.

Each expense category also increased over the 1950s: transportation increased 120%; the school lunch program increased 16%; and instructional salaries increased 74%. Even though instructional salaries increased from \$948,647 to \$1,654,440, the county hired 137 additional teachers, so the increase does not represent an increase in individual salaries. The transportation increase more than likely indicates the progress of consolidation. The community services expense decreased each year until it was phased out in 1957 (Biennial, 1949-1951; 1951-1953; 1953-1955; 1955-1957; 1957-1959).

Superintendent C.H. Farley and Consolidation

Claude Farley was the most influential person in the history of education in Pike County from 1930-1960 because he was the superintendent of schools from 1934-1969 (Sohn, 1986). In Kentucky, the school board members and trustees were elected, and they in turn appointed the county superintendent.

Farley's longevity as superintendent was proof of his popularity with the people, but more importantly his power and expertise as a politician. Farley graduated from Eastern Kentucky State Teachers' College in 1928 and began teaching at Blackberry the same year. He obtained his education and training for superintendent certification at the University of Kentucky.

Farley's tremendous contribution to Pike County Schools could be assessed with one word: consolidation. In 1930 Pike County ISD oversaw two hundred and three schools; Farley closed or consolidated one hundred and fifty six schools during his thirty-year administration. According to his wife, he considered the consolidation of the Pike County School District his proudest accomplishment (Sohn, 1986). Although Farley considered the many consolidations of his administration necessary steps to fiscal efficiency, not everyone in the rural outlying areas of Pike County wanted consolidation. Nevertheless, Farley was the superintendent for thirty-five years and every teacher in this study knew him, many were hired by him, and most respected him.

Organization of Study

Chapter One of this study discusses the purpose and significance of the research. Teachers' perspectives in Pike County Kentucky from 1930 to 1960 are examined through archival and oral history methodology. Teacher interviews are the foundation of the study with peripheral interviews and archive search used to further qualify and provide context to collected data. The context of the study begins with a brief education history of Kentucky from statehood in 1792 through

the 1950s, as well as a brief education history of Pike County from its inception in 1822 through the 1950s.

Chapter Two of the study gives a review of the literature on Appalachian education and the sociological and theoretical framework used in past research. The brevity of the literature review is explained by the lack of research on Appalachia until the 1970s. Interest in the region began after the introduction of the War on Poverty by President Johnson in the 1960s. The research was generally multidisciplinary in the 1970s with education research on Appalachia beginning in earnest in the 1980s.

Chapter Three describes the methodology used in this study. Oral histories from retired teachers of Pike County ISD provide the foundation of the study and a brief biography of each teacher is included. A public records search produced state and local superintendents' reports, state education bulletins, reports of the Agricultural Experiment Laboratories and the Appalachian Regional Commission, and federal economic and education statistics. Archival data was used to triangulate qualitative data and increase reliability. My role as research instrument is discussed as it relates to interpretation of data and as a bridge from one culture to another culture.

Chapter Four discusses the interconnections of family, community, and the care ethic in teaching in Pike County. The family connection in teaching was unexpected, and in this context had multiple meanings. Family connection included parental influence, multiple family members teaching, family teaching family, and teachers marrying teachers. The family of my community contact

person was exemplary of multiple family members in the teaching profession and a family teaching tree of this family is included.

Chapter Five explores curriculum, method and discipline through the context of teacher characteristics, school characteristics, and teaching experiences of Pike County teachers from 1930 to 1960. Former schooling experiences and an Appalachian frame of reference were prominent factors in how and what the teachers taught, regardless of qualifications. The importance of prayer and Bible study within the school day is discussed, as well as the role of discipline in the teacher – student relationship.

Chapter Six discusses the findings of this study within the socio-cultural models of colonialism, underdevelopment, and cultural difference. Cultural geography and environmental determinism models are introduced and discussed, with a cultural environmental model posited. Meaning and interpretation of family, community, and caring data from Chapter Four, and teacher characteristics and teaching experiences data from Chapter Five are explored within the cultural environmental context. Implications, suggestions for further research, and conclusions are finally offered.

Chapter Two

Literature Review

This chapter reviews the literature concerning education development in Appalachian Kentucky and rural schools in general, particularly from 1930-1960. Research on the development of schooling in Appalachian Kentucky is sparse, with the majority contributed by Alan DeYoung from the University of Kentucky in the 1980s. The review begins with general studies of Appalachia, and then discusses two large regional surveys, intelligence testing, explanatory models of socio-cultural development, and three events that expanded the study of Appalachia. Finally, socio-cultural studies and education research on Appalachian are reviewed, with special attention given to Alan DeYoung's work on Appalachian education in Kentucky and rural education in general.

Nearly all of the literature on Appalachia consistently discussed cultural affect as an introduction to the research or narrative. The two characteristics cited as paramount to understanding the Appalachian culture in these studies were poverty and geography. I also contend that education in Appalachia cannot be fully explored without understanding the salient role that culture played in the development of education in the region. Thus, the socio-cultural study of Appalachia that was predominant through the 1970s and 1980s was informative. Three particular theoretical models of study were generally included for giving direction to the studies, but education was seldom the focus. However, the studies

were relevant to how education developed in Appalachia because of the part that culture, geography, and economics played in that development. Research on Appalachian Kentucky and education began in earnest in the 1980s, led by Alan DeYoung.

Rural Schools in the United States 1930-1960

Rural schools in the U.S. during the first half of the 20th century had many characteristics in common. Small one-room wood frame buildings, poorly lit, with wood stoves, outdoor restroom facilities and well water, located down a dirt or gravel road were the typical characteristics of rural schools through the 1930s. Two, three, and four room schools were more common after consolidation of several local one- room schools; they too were usually wood frame. Consolidated rural schools of the 1940s and 1950s were multi-room, multi-level brick or stone buildings; by then, indoor plumbing and lunchrooms were common (DeYoung, 1995; Weiler, 1998).

Rural schoolteachers had little education past high school during the 1930s and 1940s, and utilizing teachers with less than a high school diploma was quite common in isolated rural areas (Cuban, 1993). Fifty percent of all teachers in the U.S. in 1930 only had high school diplomas (Johansen, Collins, & Johnson, 1975). Because rural areas were often isolated with few roads, teachers lived where they taught. With limited preparatory education and experience in teaching, rural teachers often used a narrower range of teaching strategies than urban teachers. Rural familism with strong ties to community was also characteristic of the rural school, including the teaching of relatives in the classroom; overlapping

roles of teachers in the community; teaching as familiar and personal rather than strictly defined and official; and teachers' and students' faults and virtues as public knowledge in the community (Heller & Quesada, 1977; Tyack, 1974). Content of curriculum in rural schools were drawn from rural concerns and daily life, as well as extra-curricular activities, if any; schools maintained a family-like atmosphere.

Rural students and parents had particular characteristics during the first half of the 20th century, as well. Autonomy, bonds of kinship, and child labor were prominent in a labor-intensive agricultural economy. Thus, physical work, and not necessarily formal education, was highly valued (LeVine & White, 1986). Rural families typically had lower education expectations (DeYoung, 1991). Lack of education was still fairly common in the United States by 1950: only 35% of U.S. residents over twenty-five years of age were high school graduates, and 10% had less than five years of schooling (Ford, 1962). In comparison, only 20% of southern Appalachian residents were high school graduates and 20% had less than five years of school.

Urban school systems were generally acknowledged as the frontier of innovation and new ideas in the 1930s and 1940s. Large, well-funded systems were able to hire better-prepared teachers, and were known to use progressive methods in mixed ethnic classes (Cuban, 1993). Urban school buildings were often brick and larger than rural school to serve larger populations. Despite the possible shortcomings of rural education, social and affective outcomes (i.e. cooperating, caring for others, being helpful, learned changes in behavior) were

more effectively produced in small rural settings, whereas cognitive outcomes measured by standardized tests were more efficiently produced in large size urban settings with higher economic status (DeYoung, 1991).

General Studies on Appalachia

The outside world had little to no interest in the eastern Kentucky mountains until land speculators came in the 1890s. The majority of the speculators represented timber, coal, and rail companies. Railroads were built in 1910 to transport coal from the mountains, leading to a coal boom that lasted from 1912 to 1927. Kephart's Our Southern Highlanders published in 1913 described a backward and somewhat primitive people, with roots to an undiscovered Caucasian mountain people that predated Native Americans. Unfortunately, this book was the only glimpse into Appalachia for the American public for quite some time.

Appalachian Kentucky has a long history of poverty and subsistence living that permeated every social structure of the culture, including education. In reality, poverty has actually postponed and delayed the development of public education, as well as contributed to nonparticipation in the education system by much of the population well into the 20th century (McVey, 1949). 'Livin's more important than schoolin'" is a powerful statement by one mountain woman that condensed a complex socioeconomic situation into the reality of mountain life in a particular time period (Reck & Reck, 1980, p.19).

Several books are considered necessary reading and are consistently referenced in the majority of Appalachian literature: Night Comes to the Cumberland (Caudill, 1963); Appalachia on Our Mind (Shapiro, 1978); Yesterday's People (Weller, 1965); and Miners, Millhands, and Mountaineers (Eller, 1982). All give a wonderfully rich and contextual description of the Appalachian culture that includes geographical and social isolation, value of kinship ties, acceptance of poverty, reluctance to change, religious fundamentalism, and how the intertwining of these characteristics affected opinion of education.

Harry Caudill instigated the social study and commentary on Appalachian Kentucky in 1963. He described a people that were ignorant and exploited, with the huge land and coal companies playing the role of paternalistic tormentor. However, his writing does describe the coal towns in detail and how a way of life changed. Few people realize that in the coal counties, more of the mountaineers remained in farming than those who migrated to coal towns. Hence, two lifestyles existed: rural farming and a more modern pseudo-urban neighborhood. Modern in this context means packaged food from a store, curtains on the windows, garbage pick-up, a water pump in the kitchen, a camp school, and in some cases, a theater and electricity.

Caudill referred to the fatalism and fundamentalism in the mountains, but the majority of the book does not speak well of the Appalachians. He portrayed

the people as poor, ignorant, unreliable workers, uninterested in education past the eighth grade, and willingly exploited. He believed the coal camp schools were much better than local rural schools because they imported their teachers from the North. Caudill's portrayal does not fit an entire people, and his books offended many people in Pike County. As one man said to me, "He talked out of church, and said things he shouldn't have."

Yesterday's People (Weller, 1965) described the "personality" of a people. His book focused on the people, not the forces of change on them. Weller declared that to change the mountains, one must be able to change the "mountain attitude". He explained the Appalachian's otherness, not their inferiority, and contrasted the contradictions of mountain attitudes with middle-class attitudes. The contradictions were compelling and the most in depth and accurate description found in any source on Appalachia.

The mountain attitude is existence-oriented rather than improvement-oriented because it does not look forward; you could be dead tomorrow. The mountain personality is action-seeking rather than routine-seeking because of an unwillingness to commit, and an inherited lifestyle that called for action to survive; a nine-to-five job is foreign. The mountain people are person-oriented rather than object-oriented. Object-oriented means to define goals outside of self, whereas person-oriented responds to group or social relationships, especially family. Education is object-oriented. Consequently, Weller (1965) believed that

the mountain-bred and mountain-taught teacher, who perpetuated the mountain culture and same mountain experiences, hurt education in Appalachia.

Books by Shapiro (1978) and Eller (1982) were not impressive. Eller's book described Appalachia from the end of the nineteenth century to 1930, thus focusing on the coal industry and colonialism. Shapiro's book, which was confusing and unproductive, was an intellectual and theoretical attempt to reconceptualize and rationalize Appalachia based on benevolent missionary work. I do not believe he ever set foot in the mountains. However, he made an excellent point: economists and sociologists tend to view economic development as a natural solution to a whole range of problems caused by isolation and poverty, an assumption that was not necessarily valid.

Regional Surveys

Coincidentally, the time frame of my study is bracketed by two major surveys on the Southern Appalachian region, which includes eastern Kentucky. The U.S. Department of Agriculture conducted the first survey in 1935 and the Southern Appalachian Studies Division of Research conducted a second survey in 1962. Thomas Ford edited the second survey. Comparison of the data in the two surveys was informative and provided an outline for what took place in the region over a thirty-year period. The two surveys were particularly important because of the lack of research literature between the dates of the two surveys.

The 1935 survey was actually performed without setting a foot in the region, but was a compilation of reports from state and federal departments of agriculture, economics, roads and transportation, and education. The stated purpose was to gather information for planning economic and social adjustments needed in the Southern Appalachians. The area was considered economically and socially depressed because of the lack of roads and industry, sparse population, poverty, and inadequate medical care, housing, and education. Hence, the survey painted quite a dismal scenario for eastern Kentucky.

Education in eastern Kentucky was much worse than inadequate in the 1935 survey. Twenty percent of children under fifteen were not attending school, and as many as seventy percent of students sixteen years old and older were not enrolled or attending school. The school term was only half of the year, but attendance averaged less than four months. Such high and irregular attendance contributed to what was termed retardation (i.e., more than one year behind in grade for the chronological age of the student) in the system. Enrollment in agriculture, home economics, and the trades was also disturbing; Pike County had zero enrollments in those programs. Teaching salaries in Appalachian counties were \$700 - \$800 a year, compared to twice that amount paid in independent city school districts in the region. However, few teachers in the rural schools had a high school diploma. The survey concluded that mountainous counties have

many large areas with no schools, and the unequal distribution of wealth in the region was unanswered by the state.

Conclusions were obvious. Equitable education opportunities were needed in the rural mountains. The key to providing a better education was money, higher taxes, more jobs, and the increase of state and federal aid to the school districts. No solutions were included other than one interesting comment: taxes should be gathered where the wealth was to support schools wherever the children were.

The survey conducted thirty years later reflected continuing serious social, economic, and education problems, but at least field investigation was performed (Ford, 1962). The 1935 survey focused on causation, but the 1962 survey focused on social change and mountain attitudes. The survey began by acknowledging the region as a definite problem area in the national economy with mountain counties lagging behind on all economic indicators. Population had consistently decreased in the southern Appalachian region from 820,000 in 1940; to 795,000 in 1950; to 666,500 in 1960.

Interviews with 1,466 residents and 379 community leaders provided the data for examination of the ‘mountain attitude’. Four traits were determined and defined: individualism; traditionalism; fatalism; and fundamentalism. Individualism represented the desire to be independent from social constraint; traditionalism reflected the resistance to change; and fatalism and fundamentalism

showed the belief that life was controlled by external forces, as well as a passive resignation to one's life. The survey inferred that the mountaineer's attitudes were the problem.

Unfortunately, the education system was unabashedly labeled inferior by the 1962 survey. The low level of education was associated with the low-level economy, reporting that 67% of the low-income population had a low-level of education. The schools still had a lack of holding power and the retardation rate, as defined in the first survey, included 55% of the students. Inadequate funding was still considered the main cause of the inferiority; per pupil expenditures were one-half the national average. The local community attitude that their schools were doing a fine job was believed to be at least partly responsible for the inadequate funding. Why raise school taxes if the schools are doing fine? Consolidation was not addressed in the first survey and only mentioned in the second one; the southern Appalachian region still had 27% one-room schools in 1958.

The most significant information on education in the second survey was on teaching and teacher profiles. The survey concluded that Appalachian teachers were not very different from the national average when comparing gender, average age, and average years experience. However, one in thirteen teachers was not certified nationally, whereas one in five was not certified in the southern Appalachian region. The teacher statistic that showed the largest disparity with

the rest of the country was teaching salary. Appalachian teachers earned an annual salary of approximately \$3,730 compared to the national average of \$4,935. The conclusion of this survey was the same as the first: more money was needed to solve the region's problems.

In summary of the two surveys, education in the region had really not made significant improvements over the thirty-year period. Poor attendance remained the same. Dropout rates were still high as were retardation rates of children behind more than one year in grade. The only positive results appeared to be teacher characteristics and salaries. In other words, over a thirty-year period, learning did not improve but teaching did. Such a conclusion suggests that funding alone may not be the solution to an inferior education.

Intelligence Testing and Basic Skills

Intelligence testing was administered to the children of the same Appalachian Kentucky county by Hirsch (1928) and Asher (1935). Asher's study was under the auspices of the College of Agriculture at the University of Kentucky in cooperation with the Department of Agriculture, Washington, D.C. He administered the Myers Mental Measure and the National Intelligence Test, Scale B to a total of 234 mountain school children ranging in ages seven to sixteen years. Hirsch's study for the Department of Agriculture, Washington, D.C. tested 904 children, ranging in age from seven to fourteen years using the Dearborn and Pintner-Cunningham tests.

Both Hirsch (1928) and Asher (1935) intelligence testing results determined that median IQ scores of young Appalachian children ranged from 71.5 to 72.5 points. More importantly, IQ scores fell an average of twelve points between the ages of seven and fourteen years old in the Hirsch study, and the average fell twenty-three points between the ages of seven years old to fifteen years old in Asher's study. Only five percent of the subjects tested above 100 points and fifty percent scored below 70 points (Asher, 1935). Despite the fact that both researchers admitted the tests were skewed for urban children, and the material living environment in the mountain county was quite impoverished, the results reinforced the view that mountain children were intellectually inferior.

Appalachian Kentucky education was consistently labeled as inferior up to the 1980s, but the claims of academic deficiencies were unsubstantiated. The poor performance was attributed to genetic deficiencies, cultural deprivation, and capitalist exploitation, but no research provided data to support any inferior assessment since the IQ tests in 1935. Finally, DeYoung and Vaught (1980) gathered basic skills data in a research report prepared for the Appalachian Region Commission (ARC).

DeYoung and Vaught (1980) collected basic skill subtest scores from the Comprehensive Test of Basic Skills (CTBS) for third, fifth, seventh, and tenth grade students from every county school district in Kentucky. Scores were then divided into two groups for comparison, Appalachian counties and non-

Appalachian counties. Test scores on reading, language, and mathematics of Appalachian school districts were then compared with the same test scores of non-Appalachian school districts.

Results revealed that Appalachian county school districts had significantly fewer above-average students and significantly more below-average students than non-Appalachian school districts. Academic deficiencies, not intellectual deficiencies, in Appalachian school children had finally been substantiated. DeYoung, Vaught, and Porter (1981) later considered possible causes of academic deficiencies in Appalachian counties from the 1960s, noting genetic deficiencies, cultural deprivation, local poverty conditions, or a combination of all three. However, alternate explanatory models in educational theory were mentioned for equal consideration: critical theory and capitalist social structure, and status group competition, which considers boundary maintenance and control needs of professional (or political) educators. DeYoung, Vaught, and Porter (1981) and DeYoung (1983) published the research results from the ARC reports in the *Appalachian Journal*.

In 1982 Henderson questioned the use of Appalachia as a variable in research, directing his criticism at DeYoung et al. (1981) comparative studies between Appalachian and non-Appalachian counties. Henderson said that comparisons of Appalachian and non-Appalachian test data were not informative. He also believed that a natural history phase was necessary to make such

comparisons meaningful. DeYoung and Vaught's reply to this criticism was direct and included numerous research methodology references supporting their research. No other criticism of DeYoung's research was discovered in this literature search.

Explanatory Models of Socio-Cultural Development

Three models presented in the majority of Appalachian literature offered a structural and theoretical framework for studying poverty, culture and education of the region. The models were: the cultural difference model; the colonialism model; and the underdevelopment model (Ball, 1969; Billings, 1974; Branscome, 1971; DeYoung, 1983, 1985; Gaventa, 1977; Leacock, 1971; Lewis, 1970; Reck & Reck, 1980; Salstrom, 1990). The models attempt to explain a culture through investigation of the psychological, sociological, economical, political, and educational inner-workings of the region. The three models encompass a historical overview and perspective that appear appropriate and necessary for full understanding of the mitigating elements that have influenced education in Appalachian Kentucky.

Cultural Difference Model.

The cultural difference model has experienced numerous names over time, (i.e., cultural deprivation [DeYoung et al., 1981]; cultural deficiency [Lewis, 1970; Reck & Reck, 1980]; and culture of poverty [Billings, 1974; DeYoung et al., 1981; Leacock, 1971; Levine & White, 1986; Valentine, 1968]). Valentine

traced the model's origin to Oscar Lewis' The Children of Sanchez (1966). The model's premise described how the values and norms of a culture pass from generation to generation through socialization. If the cultural norms and values are rural and poverty-based, each generation appeared to be unable to accommodate changing conditions in a way to take advantage of opportunities for improvement and modernization.

Silver and DeYoung (1986) further described the cultural difference model as a result of values resistant to change. Ties to the land and extended family insulate one from pressures to accept mainstream norms. Traditionalism and a fatalistic frame of reference from religious fundamentalism provide a sense of comfort and constancy. Ball (1969) used the term *analgesic* subculture, which accused Appalachians of the inability to respond rationally to change. Interpretation of the cultural difference model was twofold: a culture with set values and norms that comforted and prevented change, or a culture that was rigid, inflexible, and blamed for its own circumstances.

Colonial Model.

The colonial model is a dependency model that reflects a political and economic power structure of domination over a geographic area most often by a person, a different race, or a different culture. Since domination can be both political and/or economic, the "colony" is left dependent on the dominating force (Branscome, 1971; Caudill, 1963; DeYoung, 1985; Gaventa, 1977; Lewis, 1970;

Reck & Reck, 1980; Salstrom, 1994). In Appalachia, this model explicitly reflects structural alienation by the coal industry and politicians. The coal companies, in conjunction with local and state politicians, were able to bring millions of dollars worth of coal out of eastern Kentucky and pay very little taxes. In this context, Appalachia was rich in natural resources, yet financially poor due to exploitation by absentee ownership (Branscome, 1971; Gaventa, 1977; Lewis, 1970).

The psychological and behavioral characteristics of fatalism and passivity are present in both the colonial and the cultural models. However, in the colonial model, these traits are considered reactions to feelings of powerlessness rather than traits passed through cultural transmission. Moreover, the colonial model implies a solution to the economic conditions: remove the exploitation and domination and the people will no longer be dependent, passive, or powerless. The change would in turn encourage economic growth, lower poverty rates, and ultimately have positive affects on education.

Unfortunately, this critical theory model does not recognize an Appalachian culture or the natural environmental obstacles that hamper economic conditions and growth. The colonial model also lost relevance with the technological changes in the coal industry, as well as the legislative changes that now tax coal reserves as well as coal production (DeYoung, 1985; 1989). The

people of Appalachian Kentucky are no longer dominated or exploited, but with the introduction of the welfare state, they are still dependent.

Underdevelopment Model.

The underdevelopment model is a more recent model used in the study of Appalachian Kentucky. This model suggests that the lack of economic development in the area is directly responsible for the generational poverty, persistent unemployment, and inferior education (DeYoung, 1985; Muse, 1968). The model assumes that economic development would lower unemployment rates and welfare rolls, and provide additional tax revenues for the improvement of education. Furthermore, education would be valued more if jobs were available after completion of high school or technical school.

The underdevelopment model appears theoretically appropriate because it advocates the increase of industry to build the economy and local tax base. However, this model is practically inappropriate in the sparsely populated and remote mountainous areas of eastern Kentucky because of past failures and unlikely economic development possibilities in the future. Federally-owned land and absentee ownership of large sections of Appalachian counties do not provide a productive tax base. The Appalachian Regional Commission (ARC) conceded that the only land use and development possibilities in many Appalachian counties are recreational (Bradshaw, 1992). Nonetheless, national parks and state tourist locations do not employ large numbers of workers.

Socio-Cultural Studies on Appalachia

Education research and literature on Appalachian Kentucky were basically dormant between the 1935 and 1962 surveys previously discussed. The lack of research may best be explained by lack of interest. The region is isolated, sparsely populated, and results of any research could not be generalized to the rest of the population in the United States.

In fact, the rest of the country knew little of the area until television cameras captured the startling image of President Johnson and Bobby Kennedy visiting the squalid conditions in Pike and Letcher counties as part of the War on Poverty. Walter Cronkite walked up a hollow telling the television audience of the extreme poverty in the region while pointing to a one-room school. However, the emergence and acceptance of social histories in the 1960s, in conjunction with the release of Caudill (1963) and Weller's (1965) books, seemed to ignite an interest in the region as a subject of study.

The socio-cultural study of Appalachia began in the 1970s. Studies addressed culture, sociology, politics, economy or poverty; some mentioned education but not in depth. Most literature of the time was a multidisciplinary critique of Appalachia, emphasizing the sociological and anthropological underpinnings of the region through the use three explanatory models (Batteau, 1979; Berman, 1978; Billings, 1974; Branscome, 1971; Miller, 1977; Walls &

Billings, 1977). These writers discussed the culture or subculture of Appalachia in relation to poverty, exploitation, and politics.

However, the sociological and cultural study of Appalachia was important as a foundation to the study of education in the region. If schools are transmitters of culture and teachers are cultural agents, then understanding the culture of a community may hold the key that unlocks the paradox of Appalachian schools (Spindler & Spindler, 2000). As long as social scientists continued to erroneously try to measure Appalachian culture against urban middle-class values, education would continue to be measured in the same way as well (Walls & Billings, 1977). Billings (1974) reiterated the need for comprehensive social histories on each community for perspective and to draw conclusions of any deficiencies. In context to the culture of poverty Billings (1974) quoted Berger as saying, ‘myths are potent enough to survive evidence; they are not disarmed by understanding. Once myths gain currency, they become real and function as self-fulfilling prophecies’ (p. 322).

Both Branscome (1971) and Miller (1977) used the colonialism model in their studies. Citing the 65% dropout rate, Miller posited that schools should create a *motive* for the pursuit of education. Furthermore, education should reflect the lives of the students not the alien world of urban life. As long as school reflected the modern world and neglected the cultural heritage of the region, the schools were educating the people to leave. Vocational training for non-existent

jobs made no sense and the cities did not want the influx of mountain people (Miller, 1971). As Berman (1978) declared, the mere existence of schools does not insure those that attend the ability to alter their circumstances. Such a statement was disconcerting then, and remains just as disconcerting today.

Appalachian Journal, Center, and Association

In addition to the socio-cultural interest in Appalachia, three important events also occurred in the 1970s that provided a forum for discussion on Appalachian issues. The Appalachian Journal began publishing in 1972; the Appalachian Center at the University of Kentucky was founded in 1977; and the Appalachian Studies Association was formed in 1977. Both the Appalachian Journal and the Appalachian Center included in their mission statements the multidisciplinary study of Appalachia through history, politics, economics, culture, folklore, and literature. Interestingly, education was not mentioned as a category of study. The Appalachian Studies Association focused on education, but on education courses about Appalachia not public education in Appalachia.

Education Research on Appalachian Kentucky

Research focusing on education in Appalachian Kentucky is somewhat limited. A flurry of studies on Appalachian education emerged in the 1980s, led by Alan DeYoung, Ph.D. of the University of Kentucky. Many of the studies were still multidisciplinary in nature, pairing education with culture (Reck & Reck, 1980), or economics (Bagby, 1985; Cobb, 1983; Duncan & Tickamyer,

1983; 1984), or sociology (Gotts & Purnell, 1986). DeYoung was one researcher who focused predominantly on education in Appalachian Kentucky (1980, 1981, 1983, 1986, 1995; Boyd & DeYoung, 1986). DeYoung subsequently critiqued rural education, as well (1985, 1987, 1991, 1993, 1994). His research will be addressed in total after discussion of the other research in the 1980s.

Reck and Reck (1980) questioned the effects of colonialism and feelings of powerlessness by exploring schools and self-concept in Appalachia. They were concerned with the colonial school undermining cultural pride while preventing school children from reaping the rewards of the dominant society. Their qualitative-quantitative study used two research techniques: the standard self-concept scale with the school children; and interviews and informal conversation with the families of the children. Eighty-six sixth graders from three rural Appalachian public schools and 80 sixth graders from two non-Appalachian urban public schools were administered the self-concept scales. Families were interviewed in order to discover parental attitudes toward the local schools.

The results were unsettling. The rural Appalachian children had a significantly more negative general self-concept than the urban non-Appalachian children in four of the six clusters investigated. The Appalachian children scored negatively in behavior; intellectual school status; physical appearance and attributes; and happiness and satisfaction. The anxiety and popularity clusters showed no significant differences in the two groups. The conclusion was that

negative self-concept in rural Appalachian children appeared to stem from judgment of self in the school setting. This conclusion held true for both male and female, high and low achievers, and low and middle class status.

The parents and families interviewed saw schools as apart from the community rather than a part of the community. They expressed feelings of alienation, and in some cases hostility, toward schools and education. The parents felt school consolidation placed unnecessary hardships on the rural children and that school was more oriented to the city children. They also believed that the school personnel and the city folks did not like the rural families. Final remarks by the researchers included integrating the belief into the schools that being different was all right and not inferior.

The Duncan and Tickamyer (1983; 1984) study was very similar to the 1935 survey on Appalachian counties. Their study explored economic and social indicators to determine quality of life. Surveys, reports, and various data from the Appalachian Center data bank and the Mountain Association for Community Economic Development were used to make comparisons in quality of life between coal counties and manufacturing counties. The definition used for quality of life in the study was the availability of basic community services and goods. Goods and services categories used to determine quality of life included: unemployment rate; number of physicians per 1000 residents; percent of ninth-

graders that went on to graduate from high school; income per capita; housing quality; housing availability; and satisfaction with community.

All counties were typed as having coal-producing mines, having fifteen or more manufacturing businesses, having both coal and manufacturing, or having neither coal nor manufacturing. The Appalachian Regional Commission classified the counties used in the study as Appalachian. The results of the study determined that manufacturing counties in Appalachian Kentucky had a better quality of life than the other types of Appalachian counties, and coal-producing counties had the lowest quality of life of the four county types.

Bagby (1985) reviewed relevant studies from 1973-1984 to explore the relationship between education and financial resources in Appalachian and non-Appalachian school districts of Kentucky. Education expenditures and poverty in Appalachian counties compared to non-Appalachian counties in Kentucky have always been an issue of debate in the quality of education that school children receive. The report was a project for the Appalachian Center Data Bank at the University of Kentucky. The data for this report were obtained from Profiles of Kentucky Public Schools, furnished by the Kentucky Department of Education.

Inequalities in education between Appalachian and non-Appalachian school districts have been linked to school revenues and per-pupil expenditures for decades. The Kentucky Legislature passed numerous Acts to help poorer school districts, but the discrepancy continues. Bagley's stated purpose was to

provide information about the disparities and to examine the causality of the disparities.

Indicators selected for comparison in this study were academic skills tests, per-pupil expenditures, instructional and administration expenditures, and the sources and percent of revenues (e.g. local, state, federal) spent on education. An interesting fact related to the financial difficulties of the counties was that counties with the lowest property assessments and lowest tax revenues also have the worst record of tax collection. Apparently, what little monies are taxed is even more difficult to collect.

The four major findings in this report were not surprising, and did not bode well for education in Appalachian counties. First, inequalities continued between Appalachian and non-Appalachian school districts in Kentucky in expenditures, sources of revenue, and holding power of students to graduate from high school. Second, the gap between the two types of school districts in per-pupil expenditure and percentage of economically deprived students continued to widen. Third, coal counties had lower per-pupil expenditures and less revenue for education than other counties. Lastly, taxation strategies in Appalachian counties were inadequate, and the Appalachian counties needed to accept more responsibility for education. Hence, educational status and economic diversity and growth were linked, and improvement could only come from increasing the economic bases of the Appalachian counties.

A study for the Appalachian Educational Laboratory clearly defined the consequences of culture and the economy on Appalachian education (Gotts & Purnell, 1986). School curriculum and school consolidation were labeled as the culprits responsible for the poor quality of education in the mountains. School consolidation was also criticized as a proposed solution to urban problems, not rural ones. Rural school finances were affected by insufficient industry to offset the property tax burden. Thus, the accusation arose that control and expense considerations overshadowed quality of education decisions. Curriculum was considered inappropriate and designed for urban children; curriculum designed for rural children was almost non-existent.

However, this report gave detailed recommendations specifically directed for the improvement of rural education. These recommendations included: consolidate rural schools only if careful local analysis determined that consolidation improved the quality of education; teacher education to train those who will teach in rural areas to be generalists; design a more distinctively rural curriculum; involve the community in school affairs and decisions; and increase state and federal assistance to achieve education equity with non-Appalachian school districts (Gotts & Purnell, 1986).

Alan DeYoung's Research on Appalachian Education.

Alan DeYoung, Ph.D. addressed basic skills and economic-education indicators in Appalachian county school districts versus non-Appalachian county

school districts. The results of his work provided strong evidence as to the negative effects of poverty and economic underdevelopment on education. Dr. DeYoung's work will be discussed further in the education section of this literature review. He has studied Appalachian Kentucky's education and economic circumstances probably more than any one person, and his work is quite respected by the segment of the research community whose focus is Appalachian Kentucky.

DeYoung's legacy in education research on Appalachian Kentucky, as well as rural education in general, deserves special scrutiny in this literature review. DeYoung received his Ph.D. in sociological and anthropological studies at Stanford University. He has been an associate professor at the University of Kentucky since 1981, and was Associate Director of the Appalachian Center at the University of Kentucky from 1994 through 1996. The Appalachian Center often contributed research reports for the Appalachian Education Laboratory (AEL) and the Appalachian Regional Commission (ARC). DeYoung is not an Appalachian native.

The fact is, without DeYoung's work, there would be little to no research solely on the condition of education in Appalachian Kentucky, as well as commentary on what the research results meant for Appalachian education. Other researchers studied big picture variables that negatively affected education such as poverty, culture, and exploitation. DeYoung acknowledged the same variables

that others studied and wrote about, but he further identified, defined, and measured the areas of inferiority in Appalachian counties with tangible quantified results.

In an effort to further understand education performance of Appalachian school children, DeYoung (1983) gathered data on categories of indicators used by social scientists to tease out multiple social and economic factors that may influence achievement. The four categories used in his study were input measures, process variables, financial indicators, and outcome.

Input measures considered individual abilities, motivational attributes, and intellectual attributes of groups of children in order to predict educational performance. Process variables were pupil-teacher ratios, per pupil expenditure for instruction, and measures of teacher quality. Financial indicators considered available school resources, wealth of the school district, and commitment of local resources to public education. Outcome data included basic skills acquired by elementary and secondary school children, high school graduation rates, and the numbers of students pursuing further education. DeYoung also considered economic and demographic factors relating to such differences as number of manufacturing concerns, farms, or mines.

DeYoung's research results were grim, but not surprising. Appalachian Kentucky county school districts had poorer input, process, financial, and outcome characteristics than non-Appalachian county school districts. Further

comparison results revealed that Appalachian Kentucky county school districts had: (1) more economically deprived students; (2) more students scoring below average on 5th and 10th grade ability tests; (3) fewer dollars spent on per-pupil instruction; (4) more students scored below average on basic skills tests in reading and math; (5) lower percentage of high school graduates; (6) less local wealth to tax for education purposes; and (7) were more dependent on state and federal funding than non-Appalachian county school districts.

These findings appeared to suggest that more populous and economically diverse areas were predictive of a “better” education status, implying that school districts must become more urban and economically diverse to positively affect education development (1983). However, a major dilemma remained: many of the people who lived in the Appalachian counties did not want to become more urbanized.

DeYoung continued researching economic development and education status on Appalachian Kentucky school districts, as well as the effects of consolidation on rural Appalachian schools (1985, 1986, 1995; Boyd & DeYoung, 1986). He also wrote extensively on the problems and status of rural education in the United States (1987, 1991, 1993, 1994). DeYoung was singled out in this literature review not only because of the amount of literature he produced over a ten to fifteen year period, but more importantly, because he was the only researcher to consistently study Appalachian Kentucky education. He set

a high standard in research on Appalachian Kentucky education, and was essentially the only constant in the field.

DeYoung and Rural Education in General.

Alan DeYoung focused his writing and research on rural education in general in the late 1980s and 1990s. He believed that the comparative absence of those interested in rural education and rural education research reflected the low status of the topic, as well as an urban research bias. Throughout the United States, little rural scholarship made its way into prestigious journals of education, but was relegated to state departments of education reports and documents and vocation-agriculture journals.

DeYoung wrote a comprehensive literature review and commentary detailing the relevant scholarship and condition of rural education for the Appalachia Education Laboratory in 1987. The stated purpose of the review was to summarize the historical debate and current scholarship in rural education by: summarizing why the field of rural education studies was underdeveloped; illustrating rural education research objectives and findings; outlining the direction the research was going; and interpreting the empirical and political significance of rural educational scholarship.

Policy discussions and decisions regarding rural schools in much of the 20th century were not represented in empirical research but were the result of state departments of education. The earliest forms of education research on rural

schools were school surveys, followed by reports on how to make rural schools more administratively efficient and bureaucratic (like urban schools), and finally, studies by the field of eugenics declaring that many cognitively deficient children in rural environments needed the stimulating environments of the cities.

Community studies by historians and community sociologists became prominent in the 1930s and 1940s. However, these studies were not necessarily flattering. Life-adjustment education in conjunction with interest in community building became popular for a while. DeYoung, (1987) detailed Peshkin's work at the end of the 20th century on the importance of rural schools for community identity and community cohesiveness. By the 1980s, Sher (1977) wrote extensively on issues of staffing, administration, and funding of rural schools. The label of the 'rural school problem' emerged about this time. School size, consolidation, and 'bigger is better' were the main topics of discussion relating to rural schools, even in the 1980s when the model of effective school topics included individualized instruction, cross-age grouping, more supportive home-school relationships, and peer tutoring (DeYoung, 1977).

In 1991, DeYoung edited Rural Education: Issues and Practice, probably the most comprehensive look at the past, present, and future of rural education. The book was separated into three parts: historical and social contexts of rural education; rural education in the field and sources for practitioners; and the future

of American rural schooling. This literature search has found no equal source on rural education.

In 1993, DeYoung published a technical research paper written for the American Institutes for Research in the Behavioral Sciences and sponsored by the Office of Educational Research and Improvement, Washington, D.C. The topic, children at risk in rural schools, was based on the multi-year qualitative case study of DeYoung's on Braxton County public schools in West Virginia. DeYoung declared that rural America, which represented 25% of the U.S population, was no longer primarily agricultural, and had not been for decades. He listed eight types of economies in rural counties: farming; mining; manufacturing; retirement; government services; federal lands; persistent poverty; and unclassified.

DeYoung (1993) used the at-risk categories proposed by the National Rural Development Institute to compare rural at-risk children with urban at-risk children. The at-risk categories were substance abuse, depression/low self esteem, child abuse, sexually activeness, disabilities, illiteracy, and poverty. Interestingly, rural and urban at-risk children looked alike on paper.

A National Rural, Small Schools Task Force survey conducted by the National Rural Development Institute on the perceptions of priorities of rural teachers, superintendents and school board members, reflected what rural educators considered to be the most pressing rural problems: 60% believed that thinking and reasoning skills of the students were inadequate and were concerned

with academic performance from low-income families; 48% were concerned with the inability to reward outstanding teachers; 41% worried about levels of self-esteem of the students; and 36% thought the quality of staff in-service programs was inadequate.

As for making program and policy changes, DeYoung (1995) reminded researchers and administrators that community histories and cultures were seldom taken into account in reform decisions. Creating the one best system in the U.S. used the urban model, which included school consolidation for ‘bigger and better’ schools, professionalism of teaching, curricular diversity, and over-all efficiency (Tyack, 1974). To do this in isolated rural areas meant long bus rides for the students, and to the inaccessibility or alienation of the parents. DeYoung (1994) illustrated the aforementioned problems, characteristics, and reform of rural schools as they related to his Braxton, West Virginia case study in numerous articles, chapters, and technical papers in the early 1990s (see Appendix A for comprehensive list of DeYoung’s work).

DeYoung then published another research and technical paper in 1994 that described the economic and demographic factors relating to rural school practice through his qualitative research on the Braxton, West Virginia school district. He acknowledged Gjeltén’s (1982) contemporary rural typologies based on economy and demographics. The five rural typologies include high growth rural areas, reborn rural communities, stable rural areas, depressed rural areas, and isolated

rural areas. Communities that were both isolated and depressed, like rural Appalachia, were considered to be the most problematic. DeYoung also reiterated that regional scholars such as Ergood (1991) continued to suggest that even in the 1990s, Appalachia was different from the rest of the nation with reference to being traditional, kin-involved, bound to physical environment, fatalistic and religious fundamentalist.

Next, Chapter Three describes methodology and data analysis used in the study, and gives a very short biography and teaching history of the participants.

Chapter Three

Methodology

Research Question: What were teachers' experiences in public school in Pike County, Kentucky 1930 – 1960?

Secondary questions include: What were teacher motivations? How did environment affect human behavior? How did culture affect decision-making? Were the teaching experiences in Pike County different from the rest of Kentucky or the country during the same time period?

As mentioned in the introduction, I chose this topic, at least in some part, because of personal background. My family roots and close personal friendships are in Appalachian Kentucky, and I was born and educated in Kentucky. I discovered through my graduate work that research on education in Appalachia was somewhat limited. Education histories on county school districts are scarce, and my literature search found no county education histories from the teachers' perspectives.

Furthermore, I realized that Appalachians are still stigmatized by old stereotypes of the ignorant hillbilly, and the rest of the country knows little about the region even today. The study of education in Appalachia cannot be separated from the culture of Appalachia; the culture of Appalachia cannot be fully understood without understanding how the mountain environment shaped that culture. The ability to enter a community and have the people talk freely about

their life and experiences can be problematic. Fortunately, my background and kinship ties to Pike County eliminated most difficulties.

Qualitative Methodology

Denzin and Lincoln (1998) wrote that qualitative research was inherently multiple-method in focus; this study supports this belief. This study used the qualitative methods of archive research and oral history to examine the schooling experiences and perspectives of Pike County public school teachers in Appalachian Kentucky from 1930 to 1960. These two qualitative methods compliment one another, as well as strengthen validity of the data. The results of this study may lead to a better understanding of teaching in rural environments and illuminate the effects of poverty, geography, and culture on the development of public education in Appalachian Kentucky.

Historical methodology is dependent upon finding relevant information from various sources in order to create a narrative that tells a meaningful and cohesive story (Lancy, 1993). Marty and Kyvig (1996) further state that historians tell stories and “the effective storyteller finds ways of reconstructing events, describing them, explaining them, relating them to ideas, linking them together, and interpreting their meaning” (p. 9). Therefore, historical methods are quite comprehensive. Megill (1989) adds that all historical method writing includes four particular perspectives in varying degrees: interpretative; descriptive; explanatory; and argumentative. This study reveals Appalachian

teaching experiences in Pike County, Kentucky during the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s, and investigates the cultural, economic, and geographic influences on those teaching experiences.

Moreover, I find the term storyteller quite appropriate, yet somewhat ironic to this study. E.M. Forster is quoted as explaining the difference between a story and a plot in the following way: “a story is a narrative of events arranged in a time sequence; a plot is a narrative of events that insinuates causality” (Megill, 1989, p.629). My goal is to be a storyteller, but also a plot-revealer by exploring the possible motives of a segment of Appalachian people, and explaining their behavior and experiences over a certain time period. My intent is not to confirm statistical information, but to document and relate the experiences of Pike County teachers and suggest what may be learned from those experiences.

Setting.

As previously mentioned, the eastern Kentucky Appalachian Mountains are both beautiful and unsightly, depending on where you are looking and whom you are asking. Pike County is the largest county in Kentucky and positioned at the most eastern boundary of the state. The county is 788 square miles located at the center of the Appalachian Mountain chain. Pikeville, the county seat and largest city in the county, is located on the most western border of the county, thus not centrally located for the convenience of the rest of the population. Highways 119 and 80 are the major thoroughfares that bisect the county. Phelps,

Kentucky, located very near the most eastern border of the county and state, served as my home base during my visits. Phelps was almost an hours' drive from Pikeville, the county seat.

Three large consolidated high schools are located on the outskirts of Pikeville; two newly constructed. The new East Ridge High School closed Elkhorn City High School, Millard High School, and Feds Creek High School this year (2002). Pike County Central High School closed Mullins High School and Johns Creek High School. Shelby Valley High School closed Virgie High School and Dorton High School. The only other high schools that have not been swallowed up by consolidation are Belfry High School and Phelps High School, both located on the far eastern end of the county. The distance and transportation problems of consolidation are obvious when looking at a map. Pikeville is not centrally located, yet three county high schools are located there. The clock is ticking for Phelps and Belfry.

My visits to the homes of the participants in this study took me to all areas of the county. The visits in the eastern half of the county were more isolated, mountainous, and off the main roads. Presently, roads are available to get you where you want to go, but once off the main highways, the roads are narrow, wind perilously around the mountains, and lie next to the creeks of the valley floors and hollows. Many bridges over the creeks are old and in poor condition. Guardrails and shoulders for roads are scarce. The most common location for homes is in a

line next to a creek and the road. More often than not a bridge over a creek is the driveway to the home. This road-creek-home placement makes it easier to understand why flooding is common and so devastating. A month after my February visit, Callie Blankenship lost her home in a flood. Again I heard the refrain, “that’s just the way it is in the mountains”.

However, I met with the teachers from the Elkhorn City area at the branch library in Elkhorn City. Those teachers included Katie and Walter Coleman, Madge Mullins, Gertrude Rowe, Lavern Ratliff, and Dean Belcher. The head librarian, Kathy Kantrell, offered a meeting room for several hours and also pulled any materials from the shelves she thought were relevant and might possibly be helpful. Needless to say, she knew every one of the teachers that came that day.

The Participants.

The retired teachers that participated in this study were enthusiastic about the project and eager to contribute. They were warm, hospitable, and displayed a wonderful sense of humor. Laughter is heard on many of the audiotapes. Several conditions made their participation positive. I was one of them, so to speak. I was not a stranger because I had spoken to all of them numerous times by telephone. Another positive influence on the interviews was Janie Wilson, my friend and community contact person; she attended every interview. None of the

teachers appeared nervous or reticent. They spoke freely and were uninhibited. They are responsible for the success of this study.

Patricia Justice: Patricia was born on Grapevine Creek in 1936 to parents Scott and Tie Justice Blackburn. Her dad logged, mined, and farmed. Of the seven children in the family, Patty had a brother and two sisters-in-law that taught school. Patty attended one of the three one-room schools on Grapevine. She graduated from Feds Creek High School in 1953. After two years at Pikeville College, she began her first teaching position at the Head of Greasy Creek. She boarded with a local family and walked to school. She was there only a month. She finished that year at Freeburn Consolidated in 1955. The next year she taught at Grapevine Consolidated. Patty married John Mark Justice, also a teacher. Her third year of teaching was spent at McCarr, a two-room school, with her husband teaching in the second room. From 1958-1960 the husband and wife team taught at Big Greasy at Hatfield, a two-room school with a lunchroom in the basement. In 1960 she transferred to Bevins where she remained for twelve years as librarian (see figures 3.1 and 3.2).



3.1 Patty Justice, 2002



3.2 Patty Justice, 1955

Callie Blankenship: Callie was born in Myra, Kentucky, one of eleven children to Firel and Isabel Mullins Bentley. Her father was a coal miner. After graduating from Dorton High School in 1953, she completed one year at Pikeville College. She left the mountains and lived in Cincinnati, Ohio for one year, then returned to Pike County on the promise of a teaching job by the superintendent of schools, Claude Farley. Her first year was at Camp Creek School located in Argo (see figure 5.1). She taught in a one-room school with approximately thirty-five students and boarded with a local family. The next year she taught at the one-room, two-teacher school in Stopover and shared the sixty-plus students (see figure 5.3). Callie was responsible for primary grades one through three. In 1956 Callie transferred to Majestic School with grades one through eight and a teacher for each grade. She finally received enough credits in summer schools at Pikeville College to be fully certified in teaching in 1964. She became principal at Majestic in 1972 and retired in 1985 (see figures 3.3 and 3.4).



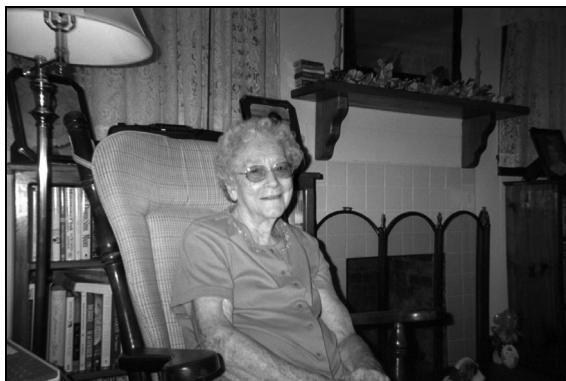
3.3 Callie Blankenship with her one-room school bell, 2002



3.4 Callie Blankenship at 18 years old

Garnett Griffith: Garnett was born at the Head of Johns Creek in 1917 to Willie and Lula Eskins Ball. She had six siblings and one died. Her father was a farmer and a teacher. She spent two years at Pikeville College after graduation

from Pikeville High School. She boarded in Pikeville to be able to go to high school since there was no high school in her area. Garnett married Arlan Griffith, a coal miner, and they had four children. She began teaching in 1936 at the Head of Long Fork at Johns Creek, in a one-room school with grades one through eight. She taught there for fifteen years, although she only had grades five through eight the last four years when a second teacher was hired. She would teach the seven month school term and then spend a semester at Eastern Kentucky Teachers College (now Eastern Kentucky University) in Richmond. Her next teaching position was as first and second grade teacher at Pond Creek, a three-teacher school. Garnett did take time off from teaching to spend raising her children. She came back to teaching when her youngest started school. She then taught fifteen years in a one-room school, went to Johns Creek and taught second grade for four years, and completed the last twelve years of her career at Kimper Elementary (see figures 3.5 and 3.6).



3.5 Garnett Griffith, 2002



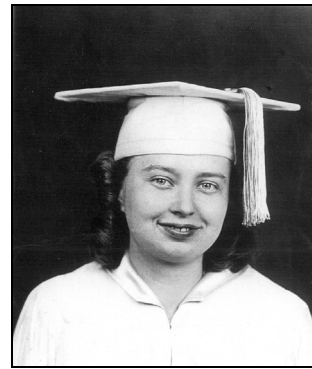
3.6 Garnett Griffith at 18 years old

Georgia Muncy Bailey: Georgia was born in 1925 on Brushy Creek to Tel and Minnie Maynard. She was one of fifteen children, and all fifteen children completed high school. She graduated from Johns Creek High School and completed twenty-one hours at Pikeville College before she started teaching. Her first year teaching was back on Brushy Creek in 1945 at the Piso one-room school. She also married Clyde Mullins. The following year Georgia taught at Harliss Creek, a three-room school, with Rolland Rowe and Faye Belcher. The year after that she taught at Greenfly School, a two-room school, where she taught grades five through eight. Georgia's next teaching assignment was at Cassity, a one-room, two-teacher school. She taught at Cassity for two years. Next, she taught five years at Shelbiana Consolidated. Each grade at Shelbiana had a teacher.

In 1955, Georgia transferred to Mullins. The school had only been built two years before. She taught seventh grade, and the fourth and fifth grade combination. She remembers her principal, Jared Hall, had chapel every day. She completed her career at Mullins and retired in 1976. Her brother, Woodrow Maynard, taught school at Majestic and Blackberry, and became a supervisor for Pike County School District. Georgia had no children, but fostered four children. One of her foster daughters became a teacher. Georgia also had three aunts and uncles, and nine cousins that were also teachers. (see figures 3.7 and 3.8.)



3.7 Georgia Bailey, 2002



3.8 Georgia Bailey at 18 years old

Betty Tanner: Betty was born in Vi, Kentucky in 1923 to Fred and Tilda Mae Justice. She was one of five children. She attended the one-room Grapevine School, passed the eighth grade equivalency test at the age of twelve, and went on to graduate from Feds Creek High School. She completed two years at Pikeville College and began teaching before she was not quite eighteen years old. Her first position was in 1941 at Grapevine Consolidated, which had grades one through eight. The school was new and big with 600 students. Her second grade class had 54 students. She then transferred to Freeburn in 1943, where she stayed until she retired in 1986. Freeburn was a public school, but in a coal camp. The school started out as a one-room, and they just kept adding on to the building as enrollment grew. She taught school, became the lead teacher, and later principal at Freeburn. (see figures 3.9 and 3.10).



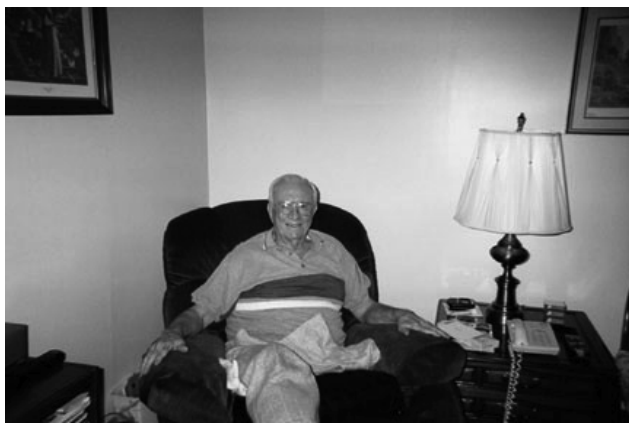
3.9 Betty Tanner, 2002



3.10 Betty Tanner at 18 years old

Phenis Potter: Phenis was born in 1924 in Mouth Card, near Feds Creek. His parents were John Walden Potter and Mary Jane Belcher Potter. Phenis went to Feds Creek High School, but dropped out his junior year in 1940 to go to New York to live with relatives and work in the war effort. He then joined the Army-Air Force at the age of eighteen and was trained as a flight engineer and flew on B-17 Bombers. He lost his left leg on January 13, 1945 and came home. Pike County gave him a new car as a returning veteran that had lost a limb. He enrolled in Molars Barber College in Cincinnati and married in 1946. He realized that his children would wonder one day why their father did not finish high school, so he worked on his GED and attended Pikeville College for two years while he barbered. He then attended Eastern Kentucky University for two years and graduated midterm 1955. He came home and taught one semester at Mullins, and then went to Feds Creek to teach history, government, and geography. Feds Creek was grades 1-12 with approximately 700 students. After three years he

accepted the position of assistant principal at Feds Creek and earned his Master's degree in supervision. He then returned to Mullins as principal and was there until 1969. He did leave Pike County and work in Virginia as an elementary principal, but returned to Pike County after three years. He became principal at Millard in 1978 and retired in 1981 (see figure 3.11).



3.11 Phenis Potter, 2002

Paul Potter: Paul was born in Hellier in 1930 to Caudill and Nora Belcher Potter. His mother taught school, and his father taught school and coal-mined in the summers. Most of Paul's elementary years were at Lick Creek, and he graduated Feds Creek High School in 1946 at the age of sixteen. He attended Pikeville College for two years and began teaching at Elkfoot, a one-room school near Island Creek with grades one through six. He was only eighteen years old. The next year he transferred to Cumberland Grade School in Elkhorn City and taught sixth grade. He served in the Navy 1951-1953, then returned and earned his degree at Eastern State Teachers College (now Eastern Kentucky University).

Paul returned to Cumberland School, which had become Elkhorn City Elementary and High School, but taught high school until he retired in 1995 (see figure 3.12).



3.12 Paul Potter, 2002

Lola Doan Tackett: Lola was the only teacher I interviewed who eventually earned a Ph.D. and taught at Eastern Kentucky University. She was born in 1924 at Virgie to Allard and Cordelia Hampton Tackett. She graduated from Virgie High School and attended Pikeville College for two years. She began teaching at the age of nineteen. She first taught at Long Fork School, a one-room school with grades one through four, for six weeks. Then she was sent to Virgie to teach fifth grade for three weeks. She was hired at Belfry High School to teach shorthand in 1943, but after one year there, went back to Virgie High School

where her husband was appointed principal. The two were at Virgie for three years then both went to Feds Creek, he as principal and she as the business teacher. Lola received her B.A. and M.A. in education from Morehead State Teachers College, (now Morehead State University) and earned her Ph.D. from the University of Mississippi (see figure 3.13).

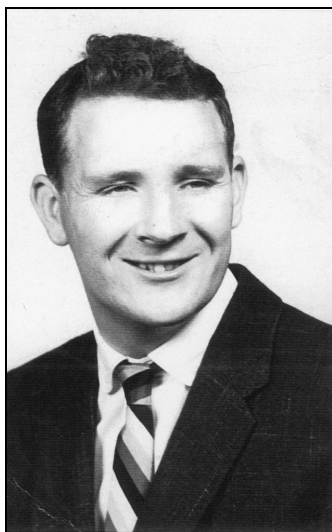


3.13 Lola Tackett, 2002

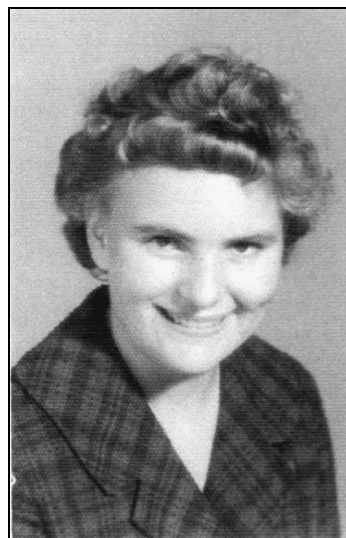
Walter Coleman: Walter was born on Marrowbone Creek in 1933 to William and Sarah Wright Coleman. He graduated from high school in 1952, joined the Air Force for two years, married in 1957, and finished two years at Pikeville College. He began teaching in 1959. His first year was at Hellier High School where he taught physical education and social studies. Walter has a great-niece who teaches (see figures 3.14 and 3.15).



3.14 L-R: Dean Belcher, Katie Coleman, Lavern Ratliff, Madge Mullins, Gertrude Rowe and Walter Coleman, 2002



3.15 Walter Coleman at 22 years old



3.16 Katie Coleman at 22 years old

Katie Coleman: Katie was not born in Pike County. She was born and educated in Estill County to parents William Alford Hall and Roosevelt Alexander Hall. Katie's grandmother, Clay Alexander taught school, as did two of her aunts. She also has two first cousins who taught school. Katie graduated from Eastern State College in 1955 with a degree in home economics. She did substitute in a one-room school on Beaver Creek before she started teaching. She began teaching at Hellier High School in January of 1956 and taught there for thirty-four years, retiring in 1990. She is the wife of Walter Coleman (see figures 3.14, 3.16, and 3.17).



3.17 Walter and Katie Coleman on their wedding day, 1957

Gertrude Rowe: Gertrude was born at Ventors in 1918 to James Ell and Emily Ratliff. Her mother's maiden name was also Ratliff. Gertrude graduated

from Hellier High School in 1935 and completed two years at Pikeville College in 1937. She began teaching at the age of nineteen at Ventors, a two-room school. She taught grades one through three. She transferred to Hellier Grade School in 1938 and taught second grade for four years. Gertrude then traveled to California and worked for Consolidated Aircraft in the war effort. They made B-24 airplanes. She came back to Pike County after the war and began teaching at Elkhorn High School for one year. The following year she returned to teaching grades one through three in Elkhorn City, and finally was assigned fifth grade where she remained until retirement in 1990 (see figure 3.14).

Madge Mullins: Madge was born in 1926 at Chatteroy, West Virginia, but moved to Pike County when she was six months old. Her parents were Andrew and Elizabeth Baylor Spears, and four of their five children taught school. One brother became a superintendent. She graduated from Pikeville High School in 1943. After two years at Pikeville College, Madge finished her degree in home economics at the University of Kentucky in 1947. She taught home economics at Elkhorn City High School for forty-one years (see figures 3.14).

Lavern Ratliff: Lavern was born in 1932 in Whorton, West Virginia, and moved to Elkhorn City before she was a year old. She graduated high school in 1950. She attended Pikeville College and took time off to marry and have children before she began teaching in 1964. She was at Elkhorn City High School

for twenty-eight years, five years as an English teacher and twenty-three years as the librarian. She retired in 1991 (see figure 3.14).

Stewart Laferty: Stewart Lafferty was born in Floyd County in 1931 to parents Anderson, a coal miner, and Hazel Daniel Laferty. He was one of five children. He graduated high school at the age of sixteen, attended Pikeville College, and began his teaching in a one-room school in Pike County in 1950. Stewart married Maxie Smith, who taught at Bevins. In his third year of teaching, he was drafted. Stewart came back to Pike County and did some substituting from time to time, but concentrated on getting his degree at Morehead State Teachers College. He graduated in 1957 and returned to teaching at Johns Creek High School. He also earned his Master's degree and an endorsement for high school principal. Stewart and his wife retired in 1987(see figures 3.18 and 3.19).



3.18 Stewart Laferty, 2002



3.19 Stewart Laferty, 1956

Dean Belcher: Dean was born in 1937 at Praise, Kentucky. He graduated Elkhorn City High School in 1956. Dean went to Pennsylvania to work

in a factory and attended Rider College one semester. He saved his money and came home to attend Pikeville College for one and a half years. He began teaching at John Moores Branch, a one-room school, in 1958. He had forty-two students, grades one through eight, and taught there for four years before it was consolidated. He taught at Elkhorn City Elementary and was principal at Greasy Creek. He retired from Pike County in 1988. Dean then taught for ten years in West Virginia and retired there. He is presently teaching as a ‘full-time substitute’ in Pike County and loves doing so (see figure 3.14).

Pauline Moore: Pauline was born in 1921 at Jamboree, one of George and Laura May Charles’ twelve children. Her father was a mechanic and worked at the mines. Pauline graduated from Phelps High School and after two years at Pikeville College began teaching at Majestic in 1942 as a second grade teacher. Majestic had grades one through eight. After two years she was transferred to Phelps, which had grades one through twelve. However, Phelps did not have a teacher for each grade at that time. During Pauline’s twenty years at Phelps, she taught third grade and a combination of one-half of fifth grade with sixth grade. Pauline retired in 1985 and still lives in Phelps (see figures 3.20 and 3.21).



3.20 Pauline Moore and her daughter Patty, 2002



Pauline Moore, 1942

Community Contact Person.

Choice of a community contact person can make the difference as to whether a study is successful or not. Anthropologists have discussed the importance of a community contact person in their work (Trueba & Bartolome, 2000). Although I could move about Appalachian communities with acceptance and some measure of cooperation, I would have been unable to meet the participants from the very mountainous eastern part of the county without Janie Wilson. She personally knew particular teachers, and several were mentors to her at the beginning of her teaching career in Pike County.

Janie was born in Phelps in 1949. She attended Phelps School and graduated in 1967. She went to school with the same people, including many relatives, all twelve years of school. Her mother was a teacher, as were several of her aunts and uncles. Her relatives taught her at times. The school still stands

and still in use (not as a school) about two miles from her childhood home where she still lives.

I met Janie at Eastern Kentucky University my freshman year. She and her roommate, Rosalind Stanley, were my suitemates and closest friends for the following three years. Both Janie and I majored in secondary health education and we student-taught in Lexington the same semester. I was placed in a small inner-city junior high health class, and Janie was placed in a huge, upper-class high school. She had a terrible experience and was never comfortable; the students were spoiled, unruly, and treated her disrespectfully. She almost quit, convinced that she had made a horrible mistake and was not fit to teach.

However, Rosalind and I would not hear of her quitting. Through a lot of tearful moments, she completed her internship. Our coordinating teacher and I were convinced that she would be a wonderful teacher “back home”; she was just out of her element in the city. Janie returned to Pike County and was hired as an elementary teacher at Freeburn School under the tutelage of Betty Tanner. Janie tells the story of first year teaching is detailed in Chapter Five.

I am not sure I would have been so readily invited into these teachers’ homes had I not had a “local” with me. Janie not only chauffeured me down back roads to every part of the county for photographs and interviews, she went into the homes with me. I encouraged her participation in the conversations at the onset of our travels. She either knew every participant or knew a relative of the

participant. Her comments were relevant and usually provoked memories in the participants. She was definitely an asset to this study (see figures 3.22 and 3.23).



3.22 Connie Elam and Janie Wilson, 2002



3.23 Rosalind Stanley at PCISD office, 2002

Researcher as Research Instrument.

Wineburg (1999) spoke of the need of researchers to feel kinship with the people they study in order to capture “otherness” and other ways of knowing. Fortunately, I began this study with actual kinship ties in place, as well as a familiarity and understanding of the “otherness” of the participants. I did not realize at the beginning of this study just how valuable those kinship ties would be.

I lived and was educated in the Kentucky mountains, which not only placed me in the position of understanding the people, their ways of knowing, and their behavior, but also allowed me to conduct research in very rural communities with the participants’ trust and cooperation. I have the advantage of being an insider, so to speak, whereas an outsider might not be trusted. Moreover, I consider my insider status extremely important in the process of analyzing and interpreting collected data.

My life experience had definite value in this study. I am a Kentuckian, lived in Appalachia, educated at Eastern Kentucky University, and married an Appalachian that I met in college. My college roommate and two suitemates throughout my college years were from Martin and Pike counties, and they returned to their respective counties after graduation. My husband and I have friends and family in many Appalachian Kentucky counties. I taught in

Appalachia for three years, and have traveled “back home” regularly for the last twenty-nine years.

More importantly, my upbringing provided the experience for understanding the Appalachian people and interpreting their behavior. I was born illegitimate to a mother with a third grade education. My mother was one of twelve children and was actually born in a log cabin with a dirt floor in 1925. My grandparents could neither read nor write. I am quite intimate with the poverty and “hard times” mentioned by the participants. Of course at the time, I did not understand economic class or what hard times actually meant. Rural living without indoor plumbing, listening to fire-and-brimstone preachers on Sunday, or witnessing domestic violence and child abuse mixed with alcohol was normal. Dropping out of school, unemployment, teenage pregnancy, and neglect of children were common. Hoeing corn, planting tobacco, raising animals, hunting, and fishing were part of everyday life.

Yet folklore, storytelling, music, and the freedom to roam and explore the countryside were just as prominent in my youth. All of these conditions were also responsible for a certain fearlessness in me. So many of my relatives and family friends were unforgettable characters, and the stories they told! We sang when we worked and played, when there was a family or community gathering, and when we were in church. I did not see my life as depressing or desperate. I was raised with a belief system that God predetermined one’s life, and all things

happened because they were meant to. Questioning behavior or asking why was simply not done. Nevertheless, I never felt shame or inferior. Other peoples' opinions of "hillbillies" as ignorant and somehow inferior never occurred to me until early adulthood – when I first heard such opinions.

The event that changed my life was attending school. I attended a rural graded school when I began first grade in 1956. When I started fourth grade, grades seven through nine were moved to the one county junior high school, and grades ten through twelve were moved to the one county high school. I remember I knew how to read when I entered first grade, but I do not remember how I learned. We had no books at home except the Bible.

What actually changed was my outlook on life. Teachers were kind and they openly favored good students. The world that was opened to me in school was wonderful and fascinating. My teachers evidently saw something lacking in my life for they nurtured and challenged me. The teachers expected so much from me, and I just could not let them down. Beginning early in my education, I spent as much time as possible at school, and as little time as possible at home. I cannot remember ever wanting to be anything other than a teacher. Teachers were special people in my eyes – they were more than just teachers.

I graduated high school with honors and received a partial academic scholarship to college. I financed the rest of the cost through hard work and loans through the National Defense Education Act. The lesson I learned was one that I

heard all my life: achieve through hard work. Although education was not insinuated in that lesson, I was the first person in my family to attend college and I graduated from Eastern Kentucky University in 1973 with a Bachelor's degree in secondary health education. Retrospectively, I was always confused by my mother's negative reaction to my college education. Some extended family members reacted negatively as well. I still cannot explain it.

If historical investigation begins and ends with interpretation as Lancy claims (1993), then my intimate connection with Appalachian Kentucky gave me an incredible advantage. I was able to enter that world with little difficulty. I am not an outsider; I am one of them. I talk like them. I think like them. I share their same frame of reference and worldview. Humility was considered important and I never put on airs. If I had, I would not have been able to garner any cooperation or trust within the mountain communities.

Consequently, I have a natural kinship with the Appalachian people that Wineburg considers necessary in research (1999). My experience and insider status contributed to understanding context as well as the interpretation of data. However, the most important qualities that I brought to this study were love for the people and love of the land, and these two qualities are *feelings* that cannot be defined easily. Love of the land and people becomes part of your psyche, providing comfort and feelings of loyalty. Most social introductions in Appalachia still begin with "Who's your people?" You are part of a larger family

with a strong sense of belonging that transfers to any Appalachian county. Additionally, the land cannot be overlooked as a dynamic and living force in the Appalachian culture.

Valerie Janesick (1998) lamented that somehow researchers have lost the human and passionate element in research. She continued “Becoming immersed in a study requires passion: passion for people, passion for communication, and passion for understanding people.”(p.50). I have the passion for the Appalachian people; I have the passion for communication with them and for them; and I have the passion for understanding them. Thus, researcher as research instrument was compelling in this study. I know of no other way to explain this phenomenon except to say that Appalachia is always just below my emotional and intellectual surface; it never leaves me. Interestingly, I was unaware of these feelings until I left Appalachia and realized that the rest of the world was different.

Assumptions.

Because of my background and connection to Appalachia, I bring certain assumptions to this study. First, I believe there is a mountain culture in Appalachia with belief and value systems that classify them as “others” when compared to the dominant culture in the United States (Spindler & Spindler, 2000; Trueba & Bartolome, 2000; Walls & Billings, 1977; Whisnant, 1983; Wineburg, 1999). Secondly, persistent poverty is embedded in the mountain culture, and the combination of poverty and culture has had an incredible

influence on public school development in Appalachia (DeYoung, 1983, 1993, 1994; DeYoung, Vaught & Porter, 1981; Eller, 1987; McVey, 1949; Watson, 1993). Lastly, I assume that public education in the mountains of eastern Kentucky developed differently than the rest of the state and the country because of the culture and poverty influence.

Data Collection

Historical methodology stresses accuracy and descriptive completeness in narratives concerning particular events and times, and emphasizes the importance of primary sources (Kiser & Hechter, 1991). Historical writing is often based upon interviews and the writings of others found in books, articles, reports, diaries, and private letters. Public records and other primary sources are also essential to provide background data and confirm or reinforce participants' memories. The foundation of this study was the teacher interviews and the support system was archival records.

The storytelling tradition in Appalachia has always been, and still is, quite strong. The origin of the storytelling tradition is rooted in necessity (Caudill, 1963; Shapiro, 1978; Whisnant, 1983). Verbal communication was the only form of communication in sparsely populated and isolated mountain communities that were predominantly illiterate (Caudill, 1963). Reading and writing were not high priorities, prompting the use of storytelling for spreading news from neighbor to neighbor, and passing history from one generation to the next (Beaver, 1986;

Caudill, 1963; Kephart, 1976). Subsequently, storytelling became an integral part of the mountain culture.

Storytelling is the verbal account of the past told by individual members of a community, usually concerning past history of ancestors, particular events, or just for fun (Marty & Kyvig 1996). Patricia Beaver (1986) writes extensively on the oral history and storytelling tradition of Appalachia, classifying stories into three categories: progress and development; social events and gatherings; and unusual occurrences. Storytelling subjects may include individual behavior (e.g., pranks, fights, and abandonment), social events (e.g., election day, weddings, or funerals) or environmental events affecting the entire community (e.g., floods, drought, the Depression, and epidemics). Individual behavior stories often contain exaggeration (Caudill, 1963; Kephart, 1976).

Archival Data.

One very important primary source for my study was the Biennial Report to the Superintendent of Public Education for the years 1930 through 1960. This report is a compilation of school district reports from the entire state to the state superintendent, and published by the Kentucky State Department of Education. The report contains detailed information on number of school age students, number of enrolled students, number of attending students, age and gender breakdown, number of schools, number of teachers, teaching qualifications,

funding sources, budget and financial reports, and other pertinent information for every county in the state.

Education Bulletins published by the Kentucky Department of Education were also valuable sources of information for the time frame of this study. The bulletins gave insight to the types of issues considered important at the time. Many of these reports were in storage in The University of Texas at Austin library system, saving an additional trip to the Kentucky Department of Education Archives in Frankfort, Kentucky. Other needed reports were obtained through the interlibrary loan service. Pike County ISD administrators told me they saved no archival records. Records of each administration were routinely thrown out to prevent future indictments. Although said tongue in cheek, the speaker was making a point about normal politics and education in Pike County, and the entire state of Kentucky, for that matter. I was able to peruse a fragmentary record of the school district school board minutes, but little relevant information was collected.

Other primary sources used in this study included the U.S. Census and local and state public documents and reports (e.g., Kentucky Agriculture Experiment Station, Legislative Acts, Kentucky Economic Statistics, Appalachian Regional Commission). These documents assisted in the determination of land ownership, monies available for county services, including public education, and approximation of a time line that reflects school reform and change in eastern

Kentucky and Pike County. The University of Texas library system and other university libraries located all the documents I requested through the interlibrary loan service.

Miscellaneous documents used to a lesser extent included newspapers, topographical maps, photographs, and manuscript collections. Maps were extremely important as visual tools in understanding how the terrain greatly influenced population, isolation, economic development, and contributed to a somewhat closed society. Besides the mountain valleys and hollows, the many waterways such as rivers, tributaries, and creeks were also important areas of settlement. The lay of the land is critical to the context and setting of my study, and maps provided the visual record that reflects the ramifications of geography and geology on many levels of development. U.S. Geological Survey maps in the cartography section of The University of Texas' main library and maps by the Kentucky Geological Survey and Kentucky Department of Highways were quite helpful. However, the Pikeville Chamber of Commerce supplied a pivotal map used to locate many of the small rural schools.

Oral Histories - Teacher Interviews.

The teachers that participated in this study were overall an incredible group of people. They were incredible in the sense of their presentation, personal availability, and memory of specific time and places. All were happy to talk with me, and I sensed no hidden agenda from any of them. They divulged information

matter-of-factly and with a sense of humor. All in all, the interviews and subsequent contacts with the participants were delightful and a wonderful experience.

The total number of school in which the teachers taught over their collective careers was thirty-eight: nineteen rural schools; thirteen consolidated schools; and six high schools (see Appendix B for list of schools). The thirty-eight schools were representative of the entire county minus the Pikeville City Independent School District, which is not part of the county school district.

Prior to my trip to Kentucky in February 2002, I began phone contact with my main community contact person and friend, Janie Wilson. I also contacted my other college friend, Rosalind Stanley, to find out if there was a retired teachers association in the county, and if so, who was the contact person. She gave me the name and phone number of Walter Coleman, President of the Pike County Retired Teachers Association. Walter, Rosalind, and Janie were very enthusiastic about my project and greatly assisted in finding teachers willing to talk to me. They also assisted in helping contact the teachers and arrange interview appointments.

After several weeks of constant phone calls to Pike County, a list of study participants and an interview schedule was finalized and I flew to Kentucky. I stayed in Janie's home during the week of February 17-24, 2002. Three and four interviews were generally scheduled everyday at the home of the participants. However, I arranged to meet the teachers that lived in the Elkhorn City area at the

Pike County Library branch in Elkhorn City. Interviews lasted approximately an hour and a half per teacher and were audio taped. I also took pictures of every participant at the interview site, and later requested any personal photos of their early years in teaching.

Fortunately, several of the interviewed teachers were children of local coal miners and able to provide some insight into the coal culture and education. When the coal towns closed, the school buildings were given or sold to the county school district. Unfortunately, school records from the coal town schools were lost or destroyed, according to the county librarian, the Pikeville College archival librarian, county school officials and Consolidated Coal Company (1934). The coal school records, although not essential, would be quite interesting and provide possible contrast to the other schools in the study. Numerous sources in the literature declared that the coal schools were superior to the public schools (Caudill, 1963; Deskins, 1994; Shifflet, 1991). However, one of the interviewed teachers, Betty Tanner, taught at Freeburn, a former coal town, after two years of teaching at Grapevine. Her narrative was quite comprehensive and offered a glimpse inside one coal town school. Her data is discussed at length in Chapter Five.

I did not use a prepared list of specific questions per se in the interviews other than requesting personal background information such as date of birth, place of birth, and family makeup. I asked about broad areas of experience in an open-

ended manner, requiring the participant's answer to be lengthy and usually resulting in a story in the response. For example, I asked the participants to describe their own childhood schooling experiences; why they chose teaching as a profession; where they taught; and what was that like. All of these open-ended questions could not be covered with each participant because one or two of the subject areas generated lengthy multi-subject responses and stories.

With well over twenty hours of taped interviews, I returned to Texas. Each audiotape was labeled for identification with name of participant, date of interview, and numbered in the sequence they were recorded. I transcribed the majority of the tapes word for word except for certain personal dialogue, jokes, and gossip that were unrelated to the interview in progress. The transcripts were then scrutinized by multiple readings in an effort to determine themes.

Data Analysis

Two overarching tasks are necessary in social and oral history data analysis. First, the many types of data must be gathered and placed in some relevant organizational framework that is meaningful. Next, the organization of the data should reflect a contextual background that permits the researcher to draw conclusions, find patterns, discover meaningful relationships, and finally, interpret the data (Lancy, 1993).

Interdisciplinary research methodologies (e.g., sociology, anthropology, political science, economics, and psychology) have provided models, theories,

and perspectives for analyzing and interpreting data (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998; Patton, 1990). Most importantly, an interpretive approach does not just assemble and order facts; context and meaning are necessary (Howett & Prevenier, 2001).

The goal of the interviews was to explore what teaching was like in Pike County between the years of 1930-1960, and then determine how geography, economics, or culture affected those experiences and the development of public education. What were the teachers' motivations? Did environment affect human behavior? Did culture play a part in decision-making? What relationships existed? Were Pike County teachers' experiences different than the rest of Kentucky or the nation? If so, how?

Kyvig and Marty (1982) remind the researcher that social history methodology links interdisciplinary sources to clarify and produce a structure and power hierarchy in society, including how that structure affects the family, education, religion, economics, politics, social mores, and customs. The interpretation of my research data will be better informed because of my Appalachian background. I also believe my insider frame of reference will enrich the context of the study, as well as provide more in-depth meaning.

Emergent Themes.

The purpose of inductive and content analysis is to provide themes and patterns in the data. Quite a number of themes emerged from the teacher interviews; some were expected and some were not. The themes I expected from

the narratives and from my own personal knowledge and Appalachian experiences were related to family, community, discipline, politics, and the use of the Bible and prayer in the classroom. However, there were certain themes or patterns that I did not expect. For example, I expected teachers' experiences related to family to be a certainty because of the importance and influence of family in everyday life and everyday activities in Appalachia. Nevertheless, the aspect of family that was surprising was the choice of teaching as a common occupation within families (i.e., among parents, children, siblings, aunts, uncles, and cousins). This phenomenon was not in my experience or frame of reference. The teaching-family genealogy of my community contact person, Janie Wilson, illustrates this phenomenon quite well (see figure 4.2).

The number of participants who taught in one-room schools, as well as how late one-room schools were still active into the twentieth century was quite surprising, although this is background information rather than a theme. Half of the sixteen participants taught in one-room schools, generally at the beginning of their teaching experiences, and rural schools were still actively in use in Pike County through the 1960s. The last one-room school in the state, Paw Paw, was in eastern Pike County and consolidated in 1972. One of the participants taught in a one-room school for fifteen years.

The use of the Bible and prayer in the classroom was in no way surprising or out of the ordinary for the time period discussed. Both were common in my

own elementary years of school in the 1950s. However, the missionary women coming into the schools regularly to teach Bible stories at the behest of the school district, and the school district furnishing Bible story books to the classrooms were surprising. The missionary visits were not part of my schooling experience and I had never heard stories of this nature from others during my childhood.

The typed transcripts were read and reread many times in an effort to discern any reoccurring themes or subject areas discussed by the teachers. Each theme was then assigned a color code. I underlined relevant passages by the assigned color in each transcribed interview to highlight the amount of dialogue on each reoccurring theme. Like-color sections were then retyped to see all participants' statements on a particular theme together. For example, all dialogue concerning family from each participant was underlined in turquoise and then typed together. Content analysis was then used to tease out commonalities, discrepancies, and meaning in each theme category. Actual frequency count was determined by how many participants discussed the topic.

However, three categories were determined without this process. Those categories and frequency counts were: attending Pikeville College (15); attending one-room schools (11); and teaching in one-room schools (6). These three categories were easily hand tabulated from the background information on each participant. The rest of the categories, their color code, and frequency count out of the sixteen interviews were as follows:

Family	turquoise	16
Method/Curriculum	black	13
Community	dk. blue	12
Getting to school	brown	11
Discipline	red	10
Care ethic	purple	8
Politics	yellow	7
Marriage/pregnancy	pink	6
Teaching location	orange	6
Attendance	lt. blue	5
Paid student/open	dk. green	4
Bible/Religion/prayer	lt. green	3

Preliminary Study

I visited Pike County in the summer of 2000 on a fact-finding trip in order to clarify my options for study. I first made contact by telephone cold calls to Pike County Independent School District administrators in the spring of 2000. The telephone calls were used to identify and screen subjects that appeared open and cooperative to interviewing. I explained my dissertation plans and asked each one if they would see me in late July or early August during a planned trip to Kentucky. Fortunately, my college roommate and both suitemates were located; two were teachers in Martin and Pike counties, and the third was Communications

Director for Pike County Independent School District (PCISD). All subjects were called several times in order to contact and verify appointments for interviews.

In preparation for these interviews I completed and submitted all materials required by the Department Review Committee of Curriculum and Instruction for Research on Human Subjects at The University of Texas at Austin. I received approval and was designated an “Exempt” study. I did not tape any conversations on this trip, but took extensive field notes. All conversations were very informal with little structure because I asked very generalized questions. I just allowed the informants to talk freely about education in the mountains. (See Appendix C for list of informants.)

I was quite aware that storytelling was a principle form of communication in Appalachia when speaking of the past. I honestly did not know what to expect from my preliminary interviews. However, I heard storytelling all of my life and intuition told me a focused research topic would emerge from the interviews. All I needed to do was listen (Lancy, 1993).

I also electronically contacted Alan DeYoung, Ph.D. at the University of Kentucky. Dr. DeYoung had written extensively on Appalachian Kentucky. I sought his opinion and advice on my research topic, and he was kind enough to respond to all my correspondence throughout the dissertation process.

The interviews and contacts during my preliminary trip to Kentucky proved to be very helpful, as well as insightful. I had not visited this part of

Kentucky for many years. I discovered that the very poor conditions I remembered had not changed. Poverty was still widespread and debilitating for much of the population. The informants also reaffirmed the lack of economic development and jobs in the region. Martin, Pike, and Letcher counties were, and still are, extremely poor counties and greatly dependent on state and federal aid (DeYoung, 1985; Nord, 1997; Porter, 1989; Salstrom, 1994; U.S. Department of Agriculture, 1935).

I sensed frustration and some degree of resignation over economic conditions in many of the conversations with the informants. Input from my preliminary trip, my dissertation committee, and committee chair helped refine my research topic, as well as acknowledged certain personal strengths suited for my research. The final decision was to interview retired teachers in Pike County, documenting their teaching experiences

Validity and Reliability.

Descriptions of persons, places, and events have been the foundation of qualitative research (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998). Description and explanation, and whether a given explanation is credible, is the crux of validity in qualitative research. However, there are no rules or tests for reliability and validity (Patton, 1990). Therefore, I took great care in this study to accurately quote participants, follow-up on ambiguous or unclear statements, compare participant stories and dialogue, and whenever necessary ask the simple question: “What do you mean?”

or “What does that mean?” Extensive traveling within the county and conducting the interviews in the homes of the participants were definitely beneficial to the validity and reliability of the data. My Appalachian roots and connections greatly assisted in the tasks of description and interpretation.

Triangulation was also necessary in the interpretation process. Patton (1990) describes triangulation as the process of comparing and cross-checking the consistency of research sources, and gives four steps to the process: (a) compare observational data with interview data; (b) compare what is said in private with what is said publicly; (c) compare the consistency of what is said about the research subject over a period of time; and (d) compare perspectives of people with different points of view. This study incorporated all four comparison types of triangulation in the interpretation and writing process.

Five types of triangulation were cited in the literature (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998). The five types included: data triangulation (use of a variety of data sources); investigator triangulation (use of several researchers); theory triangulation (use of multiple perspectives for interpretation); methodological triangulation (use of multiple methods to study a single problem or phenomena); and interdisciplinary triangulation (use of other disciplines such as art, sociology, history, and anthropology to inform the research and broaden understanding). This study used four of the five types of triangulation: data sources; theory, methodological; and interdisciplinary. However, using multiple data sources,

theories, methods, and disciplines was a conscious decision to add rigor, breadth, and depth in the examination and explanation of issues in the study.

One also needs to be aware of other pitfalls in the research process. Presentism, the act of viewing the past through the lens of the present, is the most common and natural obstacle (Wineburg, 1999). However, I believe my insider status will offset this tendency since I have heard the past through storytelling most of my life. Limitation of documents may also pose problems. As previously discussed, the storytelling tradition is one reason for the lack of certain written primary sources, but the common occurrence of building fires, major floods, and the purging of files to the trash also destroyed documents that could verify oral data.

Another possible problem to address is rival explanations (Wineburg, 1999). I anticipate rival explanations to be problematic, if for no other reason than the length of the time period of my study, 1930-1960. Cultural difference, colonialism, exploitation, culture of poverty, and economic difficulties are possible explanations that have surfaced in the literature on Appalachia and should be considered (Branscome, 1971; Gaventa, 1980, 1977; LeVine & White, 1986; Lewis, 1970; Maggard, 1990; Nord, 1997; Reck & Reck, 1980; Valentine, 1968). However, another possibility that should also be considered is incomplete explanation by any one theory. A combination of theories, a new theory, or the

combination of one theory with an addendum are possibilities to consider for a comprehensive explanation of my data.

Statement of Findings

The data findings are given in two chapters. Chapter Four identifies the interconnections of family, community, and the care ethic in teaching in Pike County. The family connection to teaching was in part unexpected, and in this study had multiple meanings. Examples of the different types of family connections are given and defined. A family teaching tree of one of the Appalachian teachers is displayed. Community and care ethic were strongly related to teaching experiences, and to family as well.

Chapter Five explores curriculum, method and discipline through the context of teacher characteristics and school characteristics in Pike County education from 1930 to 1960. Former schooling experiences and an Appalachian frame of reference are prominent factors in how and what the teachers taught, regardless of qualifications. The importance of prayer and Bible study within the school day are discussed, as well as the role of discipline in the teacher – student relationship. What the perceptions and experiences of the Pike County teachers mean, and how they inform education history and research are additionally explored.

Chapter Six discusses the findings of this study within the socio-cultural models of colonialism, underdevelopment, and cultural difference. Cultural geography and environmental determinism models are introduced and discussed, with a cultural environmental model posited. Meaning and interpretation of family, community, and caring data from Chapter Four, and teacher characteristics and teaching experiences data from Chapter Five are explored within the cultural environmental context. Implications, suggestions for further research, and conclusions are finally offered.

“I feel like I started all that in my family and it was a great honor to know they followed in my footsteps.” (Callie Blankenship)

“I’ve raised other people’s children, and I loved them.” (Georgia Muncy Bailey)

Chapter Four

Family, Community, and Care Ethic in Teaching

Twelve theme categories were determined through content analysis of the oral history data. Once categories were determined, data was color-coded to determine category frequency. Each of the sixteen participants made references to family (16); community was third (12); and care ethic was sixth (8). These three categories were similar and often interconnected in the data. Marriage/pregnancy (6) and paid students (4) were two less frequently referenced categories, but seemed to fit into the overall subject area of family, community, and care ethic. Thus, this chapter discusses the interconnections of family, community, and care ethic in teaching as reported by the sixteen participants. Direct quotes are mingled with relevant analysis to support conclusions. The quotes were not scrutinized and corrected for spelling or grammar, and contain many colloquialisms.

Teaching and Family

Each of the sixteen participants consistently referred to family in some manner during their interviews, making family the most frequently occurring theme in the interviews. The family connection was revealed in four ways: parental influence to become a teacher; numerous teachers within a family; family

members teaching other family members (i.e., siblings, cousins, own children); and teachers marrying teachers. Many of these family connections made long-lasting impressions on the teachers and became an integral part of their teaching experiences.

Furthermore, the majority of participants were representative of more than one family and teaching category. I considered this phenomenon worth closer examination. Interestingly, none of the teachers expressed the realization of a family connection until specifically asked to elaborate on the subject. When asked their opinion on how this phenomenon might have developed, their reply was either “I don’t know” or “That’s just the way it was.” I would hear that refrain from the participants many times.

Six of the sixteen Pike County teachers revealed parental influence on their decision to teach. This category not only represents participants’ influence by their parents, but also includes teachers’ children who became teachers. Paul Potter had a double influence; both of his parents were teachers: “My father, Caudill Potter, taught at Island Creek and coal-mined in the summer. My mom, Nora Belcher Potter, also taught at Island Creek. My mother taught grades one through four, and was my teacher.” Gertrude Rowe was also influenced by her father: “I decided to be a teacher – Daddy wanted it. He was a trustee for the school.” Pauline Moore, Georgia Muncy Bailey, Betty Tanner, and Garnett Griffith have children teaching.

Nine teachers taught immediate or extended family members or were taught by family members. Teaching one's own family members was not serendipitous. In many cases it was unavoidable due to families' penchant for living in the close proximity of one another, which Patricia Beaver calls residential clusters (1986). Related families living on the same creek, mountain, or hollow was quite commonplace. Callie Blankenship's first years of teaching illustrates the residential cluster situation best, albeit to the extreme:

In that school I had thirty-eight students and thirty-six of them were Blankenships. The other two were Hickmans and they were one-half Blankenship. Mr. Farley, the superintendent, told me I wouldn't come back from there a Bentley, "You'll be something else. You'll get married over there." And I said if I do, I'll be a Blankenship because that's all that's over there. And sure enough, it turned out that way and it's still pretty much Blankenships that live up Camp Creek.

A similar concentration of family teaching family existed in the small rural community of Phelps. Pauline Moore had a brother and two sisters who also taught school, and all of them taught in the Phelps area. These four taught their nieces, nephews, cousins, and their own children. Pauline's daughter Patty and niece Janie became teachers and also remained in Phelps, continuing the family cycle of teaching. Garnett Griffith did it all: "I taught my own brothers and

sisters all through the years I was teaching. I taught relatives. I taught my own children!”

The dialogue on teaching one’s own family members produced some wonderful memories and stories from the participants. Madge Mullins gave one example:

I had a brother and a sister who taught me. It was no big effect.

But another one of my sisters climbed a fence and stole apples from the next-door property, and my sister-teacher punished her.

She said, “When I get old enough, I’ll kill you!”

Georgia Muncy Bailey added:

First year I taught, I taught my brother. I taught more than one of my brothers in the eight grade. When I started teaching, it was my chore to take my brothers and sisters with me. I had one brother that didn’t want to mind his sister – I had no right. I believe he was in the third grade. When Mom and Dad heard about it, I had no more problems.

Pauline Moore’s recounting of an incident with her niece Janie Wilson was particularly interesting. Janie’s memory and reply to the incident were somewhat unexpected. Pauline Moore:

Well, she started coughing. You know how kids will do what the other ones do. My whole room started coughing. So I said, “Who

started this?” Janie said it was her. And I spanked her and she got real sick. This was third grade. You know kids, you can’t teach and kids are doing things they shouldn’t be doing. I had to find out who did it.

Janie Wilson’s response: “She let us know right away there’d be no partiality whoever you were. But honest to goodness, I would have been horrible if she hadn’t straightened me out because my little second grade teacher spoiled us rotten.”

The family connection characterized by multiple family members teaching, including teachers marrying teachers, was a powerful thread running through these participants’ families. The number of teachers marrying teachers was unexpected. Eight of the sixteen teachers, half of the participants, were married to teachers (e.g. Tackett, both Colemans, Mullins, Justice, Laferty, and both Potters). Most of these teaching couples taught at the same school with their spouses, moving with their spouse when school assignment changed. Patricia Justice explained a typical situation:

My husband was a teacher. That’s how come me to leave the consolidated school and go back to the rural school. He got a school and I went with him. That’s why we came over here, because we couldn’t get a school together at Hatfield.

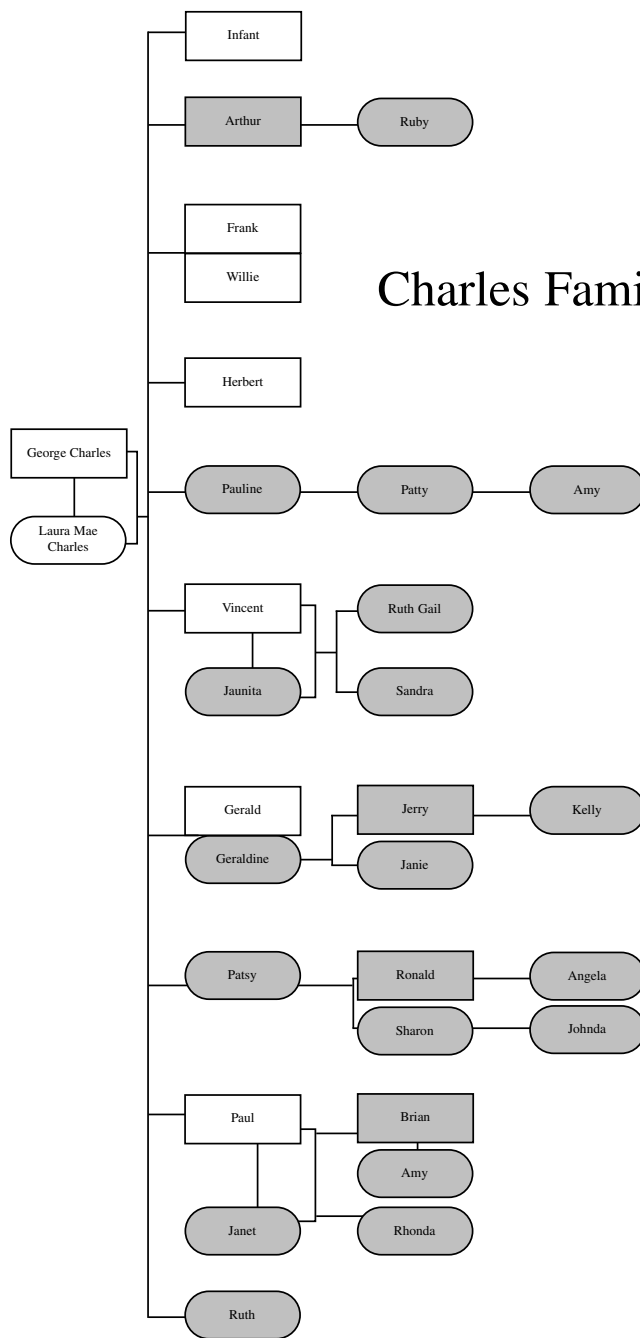
Madge Mullins added, “When I started teaching I met Clyde Mullins who taught in junior high school. We married in the summer.” Walter and Katie Coleman taught high school together most of their careers. Walter taught physical education and social studies, and Katie taught home economics. The two also supervised the concession stand at all school sporting events. Interestingly, the wives followed the husbands in all of these couple moves.

Two visuals show the strength, depth, and breadth of the family connection to teaching. First, fourteen of the sixteen teachers interviewed can trace eighty-eight family members who have taught or are still teaching school (see figure 4.1). The chart provides a more powerful statement on the extent of the family connection than text alone. Secondly, I have constructed a teaching family tree of Pauline Moore’s family (see figure 4.2 - shaded areas are teachers). This family also happens to be my contact family in Phelps. They gave me extraordinary access to their homes, family members, family pictures, letters, and yearbooks. I stayed with this family on my visits to Pike County.

The family and teaching connection in Pike County is compelling and may best be explained by examining culture, social history, family living patterns, and the geographical consequences on families in Appalachia. Geographical isolation and lack of mobility are partly responsible for generations remaining close to family for support and well-being. Numerous participants explained that there were no paved roads in Pike County through the 1930s and 1940s, and very few

Participant	Family members teaching
Patricia Justice	Husband, three siblings, two sisters-in-law,
Stewart Laferty	Wife
Walter Coleman	Wife and one great-niece
Katie Coleman	Grandmother, two aunts, one sister, two cousins, One niece, one great-niece
Garnett Griffith	Father, one aunt, three cousins, and one daughter
Gertrude Rowe	Father
Georgia Muncy Bailey	One brother, husband, one aunt, eleven cousins, One foster child
Madge Mullins	Father, husband, three siblings, two in-laws, One niece
Callie Blankenship	One sister, twelve nieces and nephews
Dean Belcher	One aunt, one uncle, one cousin
Lola Doan Tackett	Husband
Paul Potter	Mother, Father, one cousin
Betty Tanner	Daughter
Pauline Charles Moore	Four siblings, two sisters-in-law, one daughter, One granddaughter, nine nieces and nephews, Three great-nieces and nephew
TOTAL	14
	88

4.1 Teaching and Family Chart



Charles Family-Teaching Tree

Figure 4.2

in the 1950s. The rural mountain areas had few roads of any kind other than logging roads, which are basically tire tracks in the dirt. Mountains and waterways naturally isolated communities.

Callie Blankenship's story about Camp Creek's composition of Blankenship families was an excellent example of the effects of isolation on family and community. "Stayin' put" was the norm in the rural mountain areas. Pauline Moore summarized family living patterns, lack of roads, and working with typical commonsense and wit: "Teach where you live or live where you teach."

Teaching and Community

A strong sense of community was consistently woven through these teachers' discussions about their teaching experiences. In rural Appalachia, plentiful waterways, mountainous terrain, and lack of roads caused populations to settle along the valley floor waterways and up the hollows. Consequently, small, sparsely populated communities dot the mountains. One-room schools were commonly located along the creeks and waterways, or at the mouth of the hollows.

Apparently, three one-room schools spread out along the creeks were a common arrangement for rural schools in Pike County. One school was named the Lower or Mouth of such and such Creek; the second school was Middle Creek; and the third was named Upper Creek. Georgia Bailey and Patricia Justice

told of the “get-togethers” the schools along the creek would have on Fridays. The meetings had sport competitions, arithmetic competitions, spelling bees, plays, poetry readings, and picnics or cookouts. A number of parents were often invited to attend the Friday meetings to help with the children, the activities, and the food. The children usually walked no more than three miles to their school, so the meeting would be held at the centrally located school. Georgia Bailey explained not only the intermingling of community and school, but also what community meant in Pike County in the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s:

The three schools on the creek did activities together on Fridays, competitions. It was like a community, did plays, every school did something. Many times invited parents would help with discipline....When I started teaching (1945), we continued getting together with the other schools, but not as much. When I started at Harliss School, I couldn't walk to Hurricane Creek. I got a ride with the principal's wife. I was just there one year and the principal's mother taught me how to make my cornbread crispy. I'd go down and eat lunch with her sometimes 'cause I know all the family. They went to my church. At that time people would look out for each other a lot – a closer knit family. Family is family in the mountains. We care about our fellow man. We had to survive by combining a lot of things that we did. Like if you

had hay to get in, the whole community could come. We called them “workings” and the women would come in and fix a good spread of food. Like we had a lot of fruit trees and we gave a lot of fruit away.

Georgia Bailey also gave a description of how communities worked with the school, as well as how teachers were viewed by the community:

In each community I’ve worked in you had a leader’s family. Some of the parents would get the others together. I don’t know if you had that in your community. Sometimes they’d plan things for us. Games, ante over, running. This was 1950-1951. When you were teaching, you were doing something great ...to be a teacher. You were the nicest person in the community supposedly. My parents were all cooperative all the years I taught except when I was teaching in Shelbiana. And I’m still on the 4-H Council.

Callie Blankenship told of how the school’s cook watched out for the children and the local miners built a lunchroom:

Buses didn’t go all the way up hollers, and you had to walk three miles to the bus stop. We had a lady that lived at the bus stop that was a cook in the school and she always let us come in and get warm. I’ll always thank God for her....the old Majestic School was the first school I taught in with a lunchroom, about 1956. The

men who worked at the mines changed the barn into a makeshift lunchroom. It had homemade tables and they drew water out of the well.

Garnett Griffith had a different experience after leaving the rural school where she taught for fifteen years and started teaching in a graded school:

At Kimper we encouraged parents to come to school. We had people who kept us connected with parents. We had a lady, if we had problems or anything that needed to be discussed with parents, she'd go to the parents' homes and encourage them to come back to school. I don't think they encourage anymore because I think parents cause a lot more problems coming into the school than they did staying away from them.

Teaching and the Care Ethic

At the conclusion of most of the teacher interviews I asked each teacher if they had a philosophy when teaching, and if so, what might that be. I was both surprised and touched by many of the responses. The teachers talked about their love for the students, not the love of teaching. Sometimes the response would be short. Lola Doan Tackett: "My philosophy is I loved my students. I loved them and they knew it, and they returned it."

Madge Mullins took that sentiment one step further:

I guess my philosophy of teaching would be to try to be fair to all children. As others have said, they certainly are not all alike, and they have to be handled sometimes on a personal basis. And instill in the child to want to better himself with overflow into their community...and even the nation.

The comments by Garnett Griffith were short, but revealed a simple idea that sounded very much like a character education activity of the 1980s: “We had a “Knight of Youth” program. Every time a child did something nice or kind, they could color a rock in their castle. Each child had a picture of a big castle on the wall.” Betty Tanner’s response was profound and deeply felt:

My philosophy has never changed. I think teaching is a matter of the heart. And if you don’t have the heart for teaching, don’t go into it. I do think through the years I’ve listened a little harder to that philosophy by passing on the learning and the process of getting others to learn and teach that way so they can pass it on to others. Pass on all the learning you can for as long as you can, because you’re building bridges, and when you build bridges, you’re going to build society and help the children. Because everything we do – and I believe this...every person in my life that I have met, whether I had a short-term relationship or long, has been a part of me and will always be. I think you leave a legacy

then...If you're going to teach the children, you first have to love them and then you have to learn them. And by learning I mean you have to learn their little personalities, where they live, if they come to you hungry, if their clothes are not...if you don't get to that core, you've lost it already.

Home and Parenting Characteristics.

Teachers in Pike County were considered to be honest, respectable and dependable members of their communities in the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s. Teachers taught manners, responsibility, and morality, as well as the "golden rule" and the three "Rs". They disciplined the children in the same manner the children were disciplined in their own homes, which was usually corporal punishment. Teachers were considered in *loco parentis*, and the school was considered an extension of home and family. The August 1947 issue of the Education Bulletin entitled "Building a Program for the One-Teacher School" consistently used the term *school home* throughout the publication (Kentucky Department of Education).

Furthermore, the school operated much like a family. Older children helped younger children as well as the teacher; the classroom was maintained, cleaned and cared for as a home. Everyone pitched in and chores were assigned to the children. Occasionally, the teacher and children would come on Saturdays to work on large jobs like cleaning brush from the yard or whitewashing. Several

of the teachers spoke of paying an older student that lived close to the school to come early to start a fire in the stove so the school would be warm when everyone arrived. The county office usually delivered coal to the rural schools in the fall. Sometimes local mines would deliver coal when the district office forgot or was running late.

The rural school had no plumbing, so the water bucket had to be filled at the well throughout the day. The county provided a water dipper that everyone used if they did not bring their own cup to school. Of course the use of one dipper was not the more sanitary choice. Privies were usually located behind the school and the children and teacher brought catalogues and newspapers from home to stock paper.

The 1944-1945 Biennial Report described Bent Branch School in Pike County:

The school is an old one-room school building that has been partitioned into two rooms, which makes the room dark. It has cross lighting and not enough windows. The paint inside is a middle value gray, which has been on the walls for at least fifteen years.

The report went on to describe the school without electric lights, outside paint, and facilities for washing hands. The floor was not kept clean or oiled. The well

was deemed too shallow for safe drinking water, so chemicals were to be used in the well regularly.

The schools in Kentucky were ordered to include extensive health education programs in 1944-1945. Sanitary conditions of the public schools, proper health knowledge, and healthy habits of the students were sorely lacking. Thus, this order in some ways extended the parental role of the teacher. Subsequently, personal cleanliness and hygiene were taught to the children. However, many of these children came from homes that were unaware or did not practice such healthy habits. Several of the teachers expressed a certain degree of uneasiness in this particular matter. Patty Justice explained:

I had a mother to leave her children at this school and they got lice, and the dad shaved their heads – the girls and the boys – and tied diapers around their heads to hide them and sent them to school...We had a Dr. Ruskin who was our health doctor for the county, came to the high school one time and gave shots and checked the children. Some were so dirty that he wrote a note home telling the parents to clean them up before sending them back to school...Another time at Bevins, I picked a child up to give him a ride to school, he missed his bus. He stank so bad that I went in and told the principal, and he made him go back home and take a bath.

Georgia Muncy Bailey:

Cleanliness was next to Godliness with my mom, and she inspected us before going to school. At that time there was another inspection at school. And they gave away these health club badges that you had been clean the whole month...I remember one time I didn't get my badge for being clean for a whole week. I had a niece that got diphtheria and died. She slept with me. We didn't realize what was happening, and they made our whole family go into the health department and get shots. It was so embarrassing!

The majority of teachers taught most of their careers in only two or three schools; the majority of moves in teaching were a result of consolidation. Betty Tanner taught at Freeburn School her entire career except for two years. The typical situation was one where the teachers knew all the students and parents year after year. The teachers often lived in or near the community where they taught, so their students were relatives and neighbors. A few of the teachers even taught a number of their students in Sunday school at church on Sunday mornings.

Marriage and Pregnancy.

Much to my surprise, the female teachers told me they never experienced a marriage or pregnancy bar in Pike County. Not one of the female participants stopped teaching when they married or when they became pregnant. None of the

teachers speculated possible reasons for the absence of restrictions other than “That’s just the way it was.” However, they did confirm that there was always a shortage of teachers, especially in the rural schools.

Callie Blankenship’s pregnancy story illustrates the district’s attitude on pregnancy, as well as the independence and autonomy of the rural teacher:

I was at school the day that I had to go to the hospital to have Mike. We had to close school down. Our children could walk home, they didn’t have to catch the bus. The other teacher in that school, she took me, started with me to the hospital. Well, first we went down to see Dr. Bently because that’s who I had gone to. He said, “Oh, take this pill and you’ll be alright.” But my water had broken the night before. I was ignorant and got up and left for school. He told me to go on back home and call him later. But there weren’t no telephones to call. I didn’t have no telephone. There weren’t no [residential] telephones in this area at that time. We were going... and we had a flat tire. The Coca-Cola man who drove the Coca-Cola truck, he came up here to my brother Woodrow’s store, and he knew it was me so he stopped to help us. And then a man up on a telephone pole doing repairs yelled, “I’ll call you a taxi, honey.” And then I was sent to Williamson. I used to tell my son that he was the only baby I know that shut school

down for a week. We didn't have no substitute teacher. That was pretty much the rule – when teachers were ill, we just closed down.

This story brought on hysterical laughter during the interview, but one cannot fully understand how difficult having a baby was in this section of the mountains. The poignancy of the story cannot be fully appreciated without looking at a map. Callie needed to travel thirteen miles along the county's eastern border from Stop Over to the hospital in Williamson, W.V. The border that divides the two states is the Tug River. But the thirteen miles were as the crow flies. The only way to Williamson was to wind around mountains and streams and cross numerous bridges. There were no paved roads in this part of the county in 1950, making any trip time-consuming and uncomfortable. Another factor was the lack of hospital facilities. By 1950 the few coal camp hospitals in existence had closed, leaving only one or two clinics in the mining areas. The only other hospital available to Callie would have been in Pikeville, and that trip would have taken hours since no cut-through roads in the mountains existed yet.

Betty Tanner – A Special Case

I knew Betty Tanner was a special case and a special teacher after spending two hours with her. I entered the interview with some idea of her talent for teaching from Janie Wilson. Janie's first years at Freeburn School were under the direction of Betty Tanner as principal. Janie graduated from Eastern Kentucky University in 1972 with a degree in secondary health education. She

returned home to Phelps, Kentucky and was offered a teaching job as fifth and sixth grade teacher at Freeburn. Janie was not only apprehensive since she was not certified or trained in elementary education, she also did not want to teach in elementary school. However, Betty Tanner had plans for Janie Wilson.

In her own words, Betty lived an idyllic childhood on a farm near Phyllis, Kentucky. “I was the typical country girl, climbed, fished, happy with my country background. I think it gives you a nicer outlook when you’ve been reared near nature.” The family farm was one of the few non-subsistent farms in the mountains, a situation in which Betty credits her father, Fred Justice. Although not affluent by any means, her father’s knowledge and ingenuity provided amenities most mountain families did not have at the time.

Fred Justice farmed but also learned the trades of electrician and automobile mechanic. Rural electric companies did not come to the mountains until sometime in the 1940s, but houses were still not wired for electricity. The only source of residential electricity in the mountains during the 1930s was generators. Mr. Justice wired his home and set up his own Delco Light plant. The house had electric lights and an electric stove for heat. He also built a cistern on the hill above the house and used gravity to pull water into the house, providing running water for indoor plumbing. As Betty remembers, “I never knew or got up in a cold or dark home, and indoor flushing toilets was unheard of in the early 1930s. We were lucky.”

Betty's first two years of teaching was at Grapevine Consolidated; she was not yet eighteen years old. The majority of her years experience was at Freeburn School. Freeburn School was a county school located in a mining town, although the mining officials and management were quite supportive of the school and provided living quarters at the Club House for Betty. The people and coal officials of Freeburn were very community and civic-minded. Betty described the situation:

You see, the coal companies were so interested in education...it was a big social community. They had their own recreation building, their own movie, their own bank. Some had their own schools; this one did not. This one just volunteered and did many school activities. I was there two years and became lead teacher – eight teachers, one grade each, 600 students, and the lunchroom had not yet started. People took one look at me when I came and thought I was very young. I had enough experience I could handle people. I did alright. And before the year was out, they just loved what they saw. I had a grade because being head teacher you had a grade. I taught sixth grade. I was there (at Freeburn) forty years!

Betty also described community spirit during wartime:

When I went to Freeburn, everything was so patriotic over there. They had been holding bond drives and the whole community

came out and bought bonds. One of the most unusual ways to sell bonds, I want to tell you. I know Georgia didn't have one to top this! The recreation room would hold 500 and was upstairs. The barbershop, dentist office and post office were downstairs. They could fold up the seats and make a skating ring out of it. So it was a versatile room. It was my first experience with bond drives, so the superintendent of the coal company, his name was Louis Pigg, he thought it was time for a bond drive. And we put our heads together and began to think what we could do. We had the children singing and flags a-flying in front of the school. You know how we can put things together when teachers are cooperative and everybody was because they were happy. It was a surprise to me when Mr. Pigg walked out and he began to say we're going to sell bonds. He took off his coat and said I need a bid for my coat, or maybe it was his hat. First thing you know he had sold a bond. He did that with several people and as it happened some boy in the service had come back. And he sold the biggest bonds with that boy. They sold his hat, his coat, his shirt. It was marvelous. And we did that many times.

Betty also talked about how change was handled:

The coal bust came in the late 1940s. Change affected the people. That was the time they started sending 7th and 8th grade to Phelps. Freeburn dropped two grades because they had busses and could bus the children. Around 1946. I don't remember what it was that came about to stop the 8th grade at Freeburn...Remember when the old school burned? That was in 1949. In those years we taught in churches. I taught in the Church of God building down under the hill, Goose Bottom Hill, and each of us had someone who acted as janitor – some neighbor who could come in and build the fires in the pot-belly stoves. That year they built the school and brought 8th grade back. Our enrollment had gone down again by the 1950s. People moved. The exodus was not noticeable until the late 1950s. The early 1960s they sold the coal camp to an individual...The community changed from people leaving and new people coming in...we had an influx of a different type of people from the patriotic, law-abiding to a different clientele of people – Jonathan Bottom – got children from abused homes, foster homes, living with relatives.

However, Betty's final words were especially touching and indicative of just how special and natural a teacher she was:

I didn't think I was doing the spectacular – I just knew in my heart that if you loved the children and you know them, down inside every little boy and girl is that little heart and you can reach it. And it makes no difference if you're beautiful or exciting, or how you present the material. If the children don't love the teacher enough and respect her, they don't learn. And I teach that today. Learn the children and you've got to love what you're doing.

County, Community, and Pikeville College

The presence of Pikeville College cannot be overlooked as a factor in education in Pike County and a positive influence on teaching. Every participant except one attended Pikeville College for at least part of their education. The Presbyterian Church founded the institution in 1889 to give a “good practical education to those persons who pursue its courses” (www.president.pc.edu/mission.htm). The school was originally just primary and secondary grades, with a college department that offered only a few courses. The school's original intent was not to confer college degrees but to make a strong commitment to grades one through twelve. A certified two-year college program began in 1916. The four-year program was not added until 1955. Teachers continued their education over the years by attending classes in the summer sessions, as well as occasional night classes.

In a poor eastern Kentucky coal county in the midst of the Appalachian Mountains was an institution of higher learning. Pike County had something that most of the Appalachian counties did not – an educational advantage. Pikeville College turned no one away. The school's motto, "Look to the Mountains", stated a commitment to serve Appalachian students. Financing and work-study programs were provided for students unable to pay. When the state tightened requirements for the certification of teachers, Pikeville College was a definite asset in assisting teachers to that end.

However, there is an irony to Pikeville College and its stated commitment. Pikeville College strongly states a commitment to education, community, and region. The commitment also extends to the enhancement of education, culture, and economic opportunities for Appalachia through quality education programs, involvement in community service, and humanitarian efforts (www.president.pc.edu/mission.htm). The only jobs in Pike County requiring a college education were in the professions and education.

A college education was not a requirement for teaching in Kentucky in the 1930s, and a degree was actually not required even in the 1950s. Pike County ISD employed many teachers with provisional or emergency certification, especially during the World War II years and the great exodus out of Kentucky in the 1950s. Subsequently, attending college generally meant leaving the area to find employment unless deciding to teach public school.

Coincidentally, Lola Doan Tackett, the only participant with a Ph.D. in education, just happened to share her dissertation topic in her interview. Her conclusion reinforced the probabilities of leaving the county to work. Lola surveyed all Pike County High School seniors in 1960 to determine which students planned to college, as well as those who planned to leave or stay in the county. The results were interesting. The survey found that those who planned to stay in Pike County planned to attend college, and those who planned not to attend college planned on relocating out of the county to find work. Thus, the findings supported the juxtaposition of education with community on the one hand, yet the reality is there are limited job opportunities for the college educated on the other hand. However, the survey did not contain information on the area of study the college-bound students were considering.

The next chapter provides data on teacher and school characteristics, as well as teacher experiences concerning curriculum and method.

“Discipline is the core of any kind of work you do.” (Betty Tanner)

Chapter Five

Teachers, Teaching Environments, and Experiences

The number of teachers that discussed method and curriculum was thirteen, second in frequency after family. However, all of the teachers agreed that how they taught and what they taught was pretty much left up to them. Between the shortage of teachers and the lack, or absence, of teaching qualifications in the 1930s and 1940s, anyone could be hired to teach. This fact held true in the 1950s, as well. Often the most important criterion for obtaining a teaching job was how well your family knew the county superintendent or school trustee. Having family members already teaching was beneficial as well. Needless to say, this criteria did not always mean that the person hired knew how or what to teach.

Numerous teachers mentioned the trustee connection as the reason for obtaining their jobs. Callie Blankenship remembered:

My grandfather had seen the county superintendent, and they needed teachers over in this area, so the superintendent said “Why don’t you ask Callie to come and teach school. She can have a school if she’ll come back and teach.” So my grandfather called me in Cincinnati and I decided to come back and teach.

Pauline Moore added, “My dad knew Superintendent Farley and that’s how I got my job. If the trustee was for you, you got a job. And if he wanted to knock you,

he could knock you. That's how that worked." Stewart Laferty reflected that the arbitrary hiring practices weren't necessarily fair or a choice in the best interest of the children:

I was standing over there applying for a job in the office, and Mr. Herbert Coon was telling me he didn't have any positions. I was standing there with a Bachelor's degree and some on my Master's. Some guy was there arguing with his transcript. This fellow had flunked about every course he'd enrolled in, yet they were going to give him a job and telling me they didn't have a job for me. And Mr. Reford Damler, professor at Pikeville College, saw me and asked what I was doing there. I told him I was looking for a job. So he said I want you to go to John's Creek. So that's how I got the job, standing there with an elementary degree and he wanted me to go to the high school and teach health and P.E. and two math classes.

In Pike County, as in most Kentucky counties, the school trustees hired and fired, and qualifications or expertise seldom had anything to do with that decision. The only assistance or direction many of the teachers received their first years of teaching was a curriculum guide manual from the school district office. Many of the teachers said they seldom saw a supervisor during the school term. Even if a supervisor visited the school, that did not necessarily mean a new teacher was given any direction or help. As one Pike County teacher remarked: "I would frankly think that most of the supervisors weren't knowledgeable enough

to tell someone else how to teach...they didn't get their jobs because of what they knew. And I think it's probably that way today."

Teacher Characteristics and Qualifications

Remarkably, of the sixteen teachers interviewed, six began their teaching careers at the age of eighteen or nineteen years old; four started teaching at the age of twenty years old; and six started their teaching careers at twenty-one years old or older. Two began teaching in the 1930s (Gertrude Rowe, Garnett Griffith); six began teaching in the 1940s (Pauline Moore, Georgia Muncy Bailey, Betty Tanner, Lola Doan Tackett, Paul Potter, Madge Mullins); and eight began teaching in the 1950s (Callie Blankenship, Patricia Justice, Stewart Laferty, Phenis Potter, Walter and Katie Coleman, Lavern Ratliff, Dean Belcher). The group's total years of teaching experience were more than 580 years.

The group of teachers was quite homogenous with respect to their frame of reference as to how they saw the world and their place in it. First, they were Appalachians. An Appalachian frame of reference included poverty and the mountain value system, the mountain attitude, the physical environment of the mountains, a rural mountain upbringing, and the rural mountain school experiences of their own education.

An Appalachian frame of reference was very important to teaching in Appalachia. Although the coal town schools brought in northern teachers with middle class values and an urban frame of reference at the turn of the century, they were all gone by the beginning of the Depression. The rural school trustee did not hire teachers from outside the county. The salary was low, and the

trustees hired people they knew. Having the same cultural background permitted a level of bonding and understanding between teacher and student right away. In addition, having the same frame of reference in school experiences gave the inexperienced or ill-prepared teacher a blueprint of what to do, or what not to do.

Fifteen of the sixteen teachers grew up in Pike County and attended Pike County Public Schools. Katie Coleman grew up in a nearby Appalachian county. All of the teachers attended one-room schools and ten of the sixteen teachers began their teaching in one-room schools. Only four of the teachers graduated with a four-year degree and received full certification in education before they walked into a classroom to teach. However, the most common situation was a teacher having one or two years of coursework at Pikeville College. They would qualify for temporary certification and then attend summer school every summer for as long as necessary to finally obtain a degree or full certification. Garnett Griffith laughingly explained that it took her twenty-five years to finally get full certification.

Lola Doan Tackett remarked about her first teaching job in a one-room school in 1943:

No guidance or help was given at all. They gave me a curriculum guide and that's it. It had the schedule, things like six minutes for this class, seven minutes for that class. I just could not go by that schedule and was allowed to do what I wanted to do.

However, the teaching circumstances of Betty Tanner and Paul Potter were quite remarkable. Both began teaching at the age of eighteen years old.

Betty began teaching in 1941 and Paul in 1948. Betty entered high school at the age of twelve after passing the eighth grade examination. She graduated from high school, completed 64 hours credit at Pikeville College, and actually began teaching a few months before her eighteenth birthday. She explained that the district had to hold her pay until she turned eighteen. Her first teaching position was as second grade teacher at Grapevine Consolidated. She had 54 second graders.

Paul Potter's circumstances were similar. He graduated high school when he was sixteen years old, completed two years of coursework at Pikeville College, obtained a provisional teaching certificate, and began teaching just before he turned eighteen years old. The district held his pay until he turned eighteen. His first position was at Elkfoot School, a rural one-room school with grades one through six. He renewed his provisional certificate every year until he completed enough hours for a Bachelor's degree. He attended Eastern Kentucky State Teachers College in the summers until he completed enough hours for a degree in education.

School Characteristics

One-Room Schools.

Ten of the sixteen teachers in this study had their first teaching experiences in rural one-room schools. Garnett Griffith taught at Long Fork School for fifteen years. These one-room schools were isolated but very similar in appearance, as seen in the pictures of Camp Creek School, Turkey Fork School, and Head of Johns Creek School (see figures 5.1, 5.2, and 5.3).



5.1 Camp Creek School, 1953-1954



5.2 Head of Johns Creek School, 1956



5.3 Turkey Fork 1-room school at Stopover, 1955

Some communities built nicer and larger school buildings as shown in the photograph thought to be Shelby Gap School (see figure 5.4). This particular school was approximately 40 x 30 feet with a metal roof and a steeple bell.

However the most common one-room school building described by the teachers was generally a 30 x 15 feet white-clapboard frame building with a tin or rolled asphalt roof. Three or four windows lined each side of the room and the chalkboard stretched across the front wall. The floors were wood boards. Devoid of indoor plumbing, the privy and water-well were usually in close proximity to the building. The inside walls were eventually painted boards and provided space to hang newspaper articles, reports, maps, artwork, and assignments of the children.



5.4 Phelps Academy, 1930

Lighting was often inadequate in the rural school. Residential electricity was finally available in Pikeville by the mid-1930s, but outlying rural schools did not have electricity in the 1930s and most of the 1940s. Most one-room schools

in Pike County had the proverbial “pot-bellied” coal stove and flu pipe, but some schools had fireplaces. Coal stoves heated better because they were usually placed near the middle of the room, radiating heat in all directions. With fireplaces the fire heated that end of the room, whereas the other end of the room was cold. Paul Potter, Callie Blankenship, and Garnett Griffith spoke of paying an older student that lived near the school to come early and start a fire in the stove in the winter. The county usually made single coal or firewood deliveries to each rural school in the fall; the school was to make it through the year on the one delivery.

Betty Tanner and Callie Blankenship described seating and furniture arrangement in the schools. Furniture was mixed with Peabody desks, tables and chairs or benches for group work. Rows were arranged by age and/or grade. A recitation bench, later replaced by a group of wooden chairs, was usually in the front of the classroom close to the teacher’s desk. A table in the back of the room held the water crock or bucket, water dipper, lunch pails, and water cups that each child brought from home. Some teachers hung the cups with the child’s name on nails in the wall near the water supply. The nicer, more prosperous schools had a few small bookshelves, books, and maybe even a globe. Having a pull-down map above the chalkboard was very special, and rare. Teachers or parents often made curtains for the windows (see figure 5.5).



5.5 Inside a Pike County one-room school, circa 1940s (Mays Collection)

It was very common to have a work and cleaning day at the beginning and end of the school term; windows, desks, tables and floors were scrubbed; painting inside or outside; roof and building repairs most often done by volunteer parents; and a general clean up of the school grounds was performed. The cleanings were considered a school project or sometimes performed by the community agriculture or 4-H clubs. Mountain schools did not have playground equipment – there was no money for such luxuries. A ball and a stick, a jump rope, or group games that did not need equipment like red-rover, tag, and mother-may-I were recess activities.

Consolidated Schools.

When several rural schools consolidated into one school for grades one through eight, that did not necessarily mean there were eight rooms with eight teachers. Early in the consolidation process for rural schools, the consolidated school was multi-room ranging from three to eight rooms, as well as three to eight teachers. If the school had a principal, the principal was one of the teachers. The grade arrangement was very flexible and the full or partial combining of grades was quite common. Callie Blankenship gave an excellent example:

One year I taught the first grade and the second grade and the sixth grade because the first and second grades usually had more children and the sixth didn't have as many so we kind of evened it out like that. Majestic had eight teachers at that time. I had forty-one first grade children who had never been to kindergarten. After six weeks they settled down and you could group them into groups. Before that time you just took them at whatever they were, some of them cried and had never been to school before...first time away from home, from mom and dad. After awhile you can group them and I had five groups. Well, I felt like I was making that one-room school, teaching five different grades, when I thought I was going to teach one grade. But you're not teaching one grade. That was an awakening to me.

Pauline Moore's response about Phelps School was similar:

It was probably a teacher for every grade. No, it wasn't either because I had like one-half of the fifth grade with the sixth grade.

So we didn't have a teacher for every grade. I taught as many as 76 children...in one room 'cause I had sixth grade and one-half of fifth grade.

The adding of the high school grades to the consolidated schools came later in the consolidation process. In Pike County it was quite common to build another building and have a two-building campus with elementary grades in one building and secondary grades in the other building. Still, some school buildings housed all twelve grades such as Grapevine Consolidated, Freeburn Consolidated, Phelps Consolidated, Shelbiana Consolidated, and Mullins Consolidated.

Curriculum and Instruction

How a teacher taught thirty-five or more students, grades one through eight, in the one-room schools is beyond interesting; I find it phenomenal. The ten teachers in this study that taught in the one-room schools began teaching with two years or less of college work at Pikeville College; most were eighteen to twenty years old. Yet, they went into these isolated schools with little more than a curriculum guide from the district office and taught. The Pike County teachers spoke about what they taught, how they taught, and how they handled discipline. With the Education Bulletin entitled "Building a Program for the One-Teacher School" published in August 1947 by the Kentucky State Department of Education, and the conversations with the teachers, I was able to piece together a picture of what the teaching experience was like in Pike County.

The Education Bulletin (1947) repeated the role of school as a home throughout the publication. Thus, taking proper care of the school home was the

teacher's job, the students' job, and the community's job. The Bulletin gives the description of a one-teacher school in western Kentucky. The school is rural, but the county is not as isolated and poor as Pike County. The example classroom is furnished quite nicely with clean painted walls and no coal dust stains from the stove. The room appears quite large with several work and study areas. There is a large selection of books in the bookcases; the well has an electric pump that brings the water inside the building; electric lights illuminate the room; and the furniture is fairly new and up-to-date. An area in the back of the room is for food preparation and lunch. The playground has swings and other equipment. The rural school example from western Kentucky does not look like a Pike County rural school from the same time period.

Devotions – A Means of Growth for Children.

The emphasis on religion and God in the rural schools was not a surprise; morning devotions were part of my elementary experience through the 1950s and early 1960s. However, the actual mandating of devotions by the State Department of Education and the supplying of materials and resources by the local school district for such purposes was surprising. The Educational Bulletin (1947) stated that “the teacher of children should be seeking: to bring boys and girls into a satisfying relationship with God; to instill a spirit of reverence; to foster a feeling of gratitude and love; to convey the idea of clean living and good citizenship.” (p. 293)

Bible readings, Bible stories, and prayer were typical morning exercises for the Pike County teachers. Both Callie Blankenship and Garnett Griffith

discussed opening exercises and Bible readings. When asked about a typical day, Callie said, “We would read a Bible story sometimes in the morning. We always said the Lord’s Prayer and the Pledge, and then we sang.” Garnett added:

The typical day was 8:00 – 4:00. Bible reading, Lord’s Prayer, pledge to the flag – routine. We had a real good Bible storybook; the county furnished it. And the children enjoyed them a lot. Later we had a missionary that came one day a week and always taught a real good lesson. And then learned lots of Bible verses – a lot of things then that you don’t have now.”

Several other teachers mentioned the missionaries that visited the schools weekly. I was unable to find out if the district office knew or arranged these visits, or if the churches took the initiative and scheduled regular visits. Nevertheless, the visits were welcomed and fondly remembered by the teachers. One teacher told of her principal, Jared Hall at Mullins Consolidated, having chapel in 1955. Chapel in this case was a devotional meeting of sorts with the entire school. Georgia Muncy Bailey explained how she had Bible school when she taught in a two-room school at Buck Lick Creek, and parents sometimes came to join the children. By Bible school, Georgia meant a Bible study class as a regular subject in the classroom.

Academics.

Reading was the subject that most of the teachers discussed, probably because the majority of the teachers in the study were elementary teachers. Discussion on grouping the children was a natural part of that discussion. The

Educational Bulletin instructed teachers to group by experience and interest with the nonreaders, and then ability group the remaining students. In one-room schools, this meant that groups could be multi-age and multi-grade. Callie Blankenship's previous remarks on grouping were an excellent example, and she also commented on the learning environment in the rural schools: "I think children learn from each other...so there's something to say for one-room schools. You might not be able to offer all the extra curricular activities, but it's a good learning situation."

Several of the teachers reiterated their methods in primer and first grade reading. Storytelling, tales, Mother Goose rhymes, singing songs, and the use of older students reading stories and books to the young children, were common to most of the teachers, in addition to a basic reader and homemade flash cards. These activities, as well as the use of drama, listening and answering questions about stories, talking about and examining picture books, and making scrapbooks were activities the Educational Bulletin (1947) recommended as enrichment experiences for the students.

However, Betty Tanner spoke at length on reading, classroom organization, and priorities in subjects and methods. Her remarks were echoed by the other teachers whether teaching in a one-room school or a graded school:

In our class we had a recitation bench. It was nothing more than a bench and if the class was large, you had two together. Everyone tries to read. And the teacher used the chalkboard and sometimes used her students, which is nothing more than tutoring – using

upper grade students to sit...on the recitation bench and help...We were taught not to put our finger on the word but to underline. I thought that was something, but was no longer taught in the 1940s. If you were a little child, you got a wonderful background listening to older grade's lessons. You were supposed to be reading, but it was a group-learning situation.

Betty continued, concerning her experiences with priorities and how, as lead teacher, she helped inexperienced or inadequate teachers:

I first taught at Grapevine consolidated, it was a big school, at least 600 children, grades one through eight. I taught second grade my first year with 54 students. That meant the curriculum had to be geared to the things most important. Our principal thought reading was most important, and I agreed. We did a lot of that and a lot of oral things like counting...Every child can learn, and I was very forceful in that because with my new teachers I would teach. Luckily for me, no one ever fought back about team teaching. So I would generally say, 'Mrs. Wilson, could I teach the middle group today?' but I wouldn't say it that way, and she'd let me teach. And of course, all the time she was listening and that was one of my strategies. I did that with teachers that had problems with discipline. Discipline is the core of any kind of work you do...I think the things we did that made learning easy and discipline easy was the activities we did. Back to the 1940s, 4-H clubs, dance

groups were not just entertainment. We had the entire school participate in the study of Indians – every room was a different tribe. I just called it a school wide project and everybody took part.

Admittedly, Betty Tanner was a special teacher-mentor, and might possibly be described as a natural-born teacher. She passed the eighth grade test at the age of twelve to enter high school, graduated high school, and completed two years work at Pikeville College to begin teaching before she turned eighteen years old. Although she had only two years of college when she began teaching, she became lead teacher at Freeburn with only two years of teaching experience. She also continued her education in summers and obtained a Bachelor's degree in elementary education, a Principal's certificate, and additional certification for kindergarten and Title I.

Discipline and Teaching

Discipline in some form was at least mentioned by every teacher in the study. The majority discussed their method of discipline in detail and felt they had to somehow justify their use of corporal punishment. The topic often stirred emotions and usually led to a specific memory and story. After reading the discipline transcripts many times without discerning a uniting theme, an interesting point finally emerged. Eleven of the sixteen retired teachers began teaching with little or no teacher education training. Six of the teachers were only eighteen or nineteen years old when they started teaching. Consequently, the only source of instruction on discipline for these teachers was their parents and their

own schooling experiences. This fact makes it easier to understand why corporal punishment was the rule, not the exception, in the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s.

All of the teachers had used corporal punishment, but none of them used that terminology; spanking, paddling, and whipping were the names for physical punishment. Switches, small flexible branches from a tree or bush and stripped of leaves, were commonplace in the 1930s and easily supplied in the rural schools, according to Garnett Griffith. Homemade paddles, rulers, and yardsticks took the place of switches. I never heard a story of a teacher striking a child with their hand. Moreover, many of the teachers stressed that the thinking of the day was “mind your teacher” and “if you get a whipping at school, you’ll get another one when you get home.” Phrases I heard many times from my own parents.

The teachers also stressed the fact that their intention was never to hurt a child. Spanking was the common form of punishment in the homes and at the schools. “Spare the rod” was taken very seriously in the mountains. Callie Blankenship talked frankly about discipline during her early years of teaching. As she reflected on her experiences she questioned her motives and actions with regards to corporal punishment. Her tone was very serious and her words compelling:

My sixth grade teacher, Mr. Wright, used a big old switch. And that’s how I handled discipline. It was common and that’s how they got disciplined at home. One time I had a child that cut school my first year. You know I had children, I was nineteen years old and these children were sixteen, and the boys were bigger

than I was. Most kids in the country, they were used to that and they would take their spanking. They didn't buck on you and they didn't talk back to you. But this one child did. He said, 'I'm not going to take a whipping.' And I said, 'Well, I'm not going to hold you, but if you're not going to take a spanking and be part of this school, then there's the door and you can go home.' That's the only thing I knew to say to him! He left and stayed gone about an hour and he came back to the door and said, 'Hey Miss Bentley, if you let me come back to class I'll take my whipping.' I said okay. So he came in and took his spanking and sat down. He was one of our better students. He loved school. He probably just had time to think about it. Now when I look back and think that I use to spank children because they missed spelling words or just plain didn't study! Now, I know they don't do that. And I don't know if that was right or wrong then. A lot of children tell me that, well they're adults now, that I was a good disciplinarian, and I guess I was. I don't know why we did that back then, but we did. You knew if the child had the ability or didn't have the ability. I don't believe in spanking a child that doesn't have the ability to learn. But if they have the ability and are just plain lazy, then I thought that was part of my duty too, was to get everything out of them that I could, and that was the way you got it out of them.

I found this story to be very profound for several reasons. First, the remarks were heartfelt and so sincere. Secondly, Callie expressed the importance of knowing and caring for the children, a theme that I heard in all of the teacher interviews. The consensus of this group of teachers was that making a child behave was just as important a job as teaching them to read. In fact, teachers without discipline were considered by the parents and others in the school and community to be weak teachers who were not fully performing their duties. I heard sincere questioning in Callie's voice over the spanking of a child for inadequate study or work, and she has yet to settle that question completely in her mind.

Betty Tanner strongly expressed her opinion on discipline, and also expressed concern for what eventually happened to discipline in the schools.

Discipline is the core of any kind of work you do. And if you don't have this discipline built in, I don't believe its making threats and spanking, and this kind of thing. There was very little of that ever done if I knew about it. Because I didn't think it was right. If a teacher is teaching and her plans are good...if you're going to teach the children, you first have to love them and then learn them. Because of regulations, some of the authority of the school has been disrupted, eroded and taken away. Parents feel that because they have input, they must also put their foot in there and tell everybody what to do. And that's not pretty. If there isn't a turn around, our next generation is going to have terrible problems with

adjustment. I think the things we did that made learning easy and discipline easy was the activities we did.

Betty was also a lead teacher and later principal at Freeburn. Helping her teachers be excellent teachers was a personal goal she took very seriously. Two handouts she gave to all her teachers are evidence of her dedication to teaching, students, and teachers. (See Appendix D & E) Betty wrote the two handouts in the 1940s, and gave me copies at our meeting.

Other teachers also expressed concern for what happened to discipline in the schools. Several of the teachers expressed frustration with the change in attitudes of the students and parents concerning discipline. In fact, the classroom difficulty caused by those attitude changes hastened retirement for several of the teachers. Paul Potter expressed the changes he saw beginning in the late 1950s:

Discipline became more, seemed to be a lack of interest, lot more discipline problems. When I first started teaching there was a great respect for you. But as it went on, that disappeared. Change in parents too. I think they got the idea that it's your job – it's up to you – you do it.

Surprisingly, I realized that so much of the discussion on discipline was not only part of method with the teachers, but also overlapped with the care ethic. These teachers saw no difference in discipline and caring; it was the same thing. The form of discipline used was incidental. Many talked about their love for their students, and part of that love included discipline and high expectations. Pauline Moore described a typical incident that showed the mix of the teachers' thoughts

and attitudes concerning spankings, their relationship with their students, and their relationship with the parents:

I had this one problem...his father and mother were janitors at our school, so they were there in the evenings cleaning. After I dismissed, this little boy got to the door and he turned around and threw a pencil at me. It didn't hit me, but he threw it at me. I guess I had to tell his parents about it because they were there cleaning. I told the principal and he said, "Well, in the morning if you don't spank him, I will." And I thought I need to take care of this myself, you know. So the next morning I said, it was Fred J. Field, and I said "Fred J., I believe I owe you a spanking." He got up from his seat and came up and took his spanking and went back to his seat. His parents probably told him to take this spanking, because I had no problem with Fred J. anymore...My parents always backed me. They would say if you get a spanking at school, you'll get one at home. And I'd tell the kids, "Now look, just because I gave you this spanking, you don't go tell your parents, cause I feel this is all you need." And that's how I got along with my kids. I didn't want them to get to thinking bad about school unless it was something major.

Phenis Potter gave an excellent example that showed corporal punishment was not the first option in disciplining, and that direct contact with the parents was important:

When I was principal at Mullins, this little boy acted up and was sent to the office. I talked with him and sent him back to class. He was sent back to the office, still acting out. I called his mother and she said “You’re just picking on my child, he wouldn’t do something like that!” I said “Ma’am, wait just a minute.” I handed the phone over to the child and said you tell your mother what you were doing. He told his mom. Within thirty minutes the mother was in my office and said “Mr. Potter, I apologize. I didn’t think my child would do something like that.” So direct contact with parents is essential.

The teachers talked a great deal about discipline and teaching; all agreed that good discipline was necessary to teach. The method of discipline most commonly used was corporal punishment, but the use of corporal punishment diminished considerably from the 1930s to the 1960s. Walter Coleman’s account of disciplining reflected difficulty with change, but he also considered change a leaning experience that was inevitable and part of life:

There wasn’t suspension when I started teaching school. Corporal punishment was the method used. I still believe in that. As I got further along in teaching, I found out that positive reinforcement was better – but spanking was good. I let my children know what I expected of them. I gave them a written paper telling what I expected of them. I had rules. I also had an incentive program – not done much at that time. You learn as you go along. Because

of all the legal ramifications, I no longer paddled. Lot of out-of-work lawyers looking for money. I loved my students and would never hurt them.

Although the majority of the conversations on discipline were of corporal punishment, I believe it is important to reiterate the love the teachers felt for their students that was discussed in Chapter Four. These teachers did not look at teaching as a job; they were contributing to their community as well as their families. A large majority of the teachers made a special point in their interviews of expressing love for their students. Teaching was a job, not work; teaching was caring.

Chapter Six follows with a discussion of the findings in Chapter Four and Chapter Five. The socio-cultural models of colonialism, cultural difference, and underdevelopment are revisited. Cultural geography and environmental determinism models are introduced, and a cultural environment model is posited. Meaning and interpretation of the data are then examined through the cultural environment model. Implications, suggestions for further research, and conclusions are finally offered.

“One’s position in life defines one’s meaning in life.”
(Stuart Hall, cultural geographer, 1996)

Chapter Six

Discussion of Findings

The research question in this study was: What were teachers’ experiences in public school in Pike County, Kentucky 1930-1960? Secondary questions were few and direct. What were teacher motivations? How did environment affect human behavior? How did culture affect decision-making? Were the teaching experiences expressed in the data different from the rest of Kentucky or the country? An important goal for the research was to also determine how geography, economics, and culture affected teaching experiences and development of public education in Pike County, if at all.

Thus, identifying, describing, and explaining the elements that shaped the teaching experiences of Pike County teachers from 1930-1960 was the focus of this study. To identify, describe, and especially explain influential elements, I revisit the colonial, cultural difference, and underdevelopment explanatory models used in previous Appalachian research. I did not anticipate finding answers in just one model, but possibly some combination of different parts of the models, since none of the three models gave a true and complete description of the collected data. I observed a more subtle interaction of beliefs and behaviors than the socio-cultural models explain, and more importantly, a geographic element is missing from the models.

This chapter revisits the three socio-cultural models, and introduces geography into the discussion. Both cultural geography and environmental determinism are viable models considered in search for a full explanation of the phenomena found in this study. A new model, cultural environmentalism, with parts of cultural geography and environmental determinism, is proposed because it best describes and explains the elements that shaped the teaching experiences of the Pike County teachers.

Listening to the teaching experiences of Appalachian teachers, including geography into the analysis, and interpreting the collected data, opened a door of self-interpretation, expression, and understanding of my own teaching experiences and feelings about teaching. I not only learned about particular teachers in a particular place and time, but also learned about myself, and found the confidence to present the research findings in a particular way.

Models of Explanation

Colonial Model.

Colonialism, a dependency model, reflects a political and economic power structure of domination over a geographic area, a state, or a people by a different state, race, culture, or people. Hence, the dominated “colony” is left almost entirely dependent on the dominating force (Branscome, 1971; Caudill, 1963; DeYoung, 1985; Gaventa, 1977; Lewis, 1970; Reck & Reck, 1980; Salstrom, 1994). Lewis (1970) states explicitly that Appalachia is a subsociety that is

structurally alienated by the coal industry with the aid of politicians. In this context, Appalachia is resource-rich with huge deposits of coal, yet the people are poor, due in part to the absentee ownership of the thousands of acres by coal and land corporations. Additionally, most residents signed over the mineral rights of their property to these companies for small amounts of money and never shared in the wealth of the coal industry.

Although only fifty percent of the male population in Pike County worked in the mines at the height of coal production, the coal companies often decided where the people lived and how they lived in the coal towns (Caudill, 1963; Gaventa, 1977). Not only were work conditions, wages, and hours decided by the coal companies in the coal towns, the companies also made decisions concerning schooling, housing, entertainment, medical care, and shopping. The coal town provided a controlled quality of life for the residents. Certain coal towns provided a higher quality of life with electricity, better housing, and entertainment facilities than other coal towns. Consequently, the coal industry, either directly or indirectly, supplied a new way of life for much of the county during the time frame of this study. With fifty percent of the land in Pike County deeded to coal and land corporations, and the mineral rights to an additional twenty-five percent of the county signed away, the people were quite dependent on the success of mining (Appalachian Land Ownership Task Force, 1988; Caudill, 1963; Watson, 1993).

Besides dependency, the psychological and behavioral characteristics of passiveness and powerlessness are also attributed to the dominated group in this model (Gaventa, 1977; U.S.D.A., 1935). The rationale for powerlessness and passiveness stems from dependency; the dominant force decides most of the important life decisions for the dominated people. Consequently, the people believe they have little to no control over their lives, and see no way to change their situation.

However, the coal industry's influence on the lives in Pike County diminished considerably during the 1930s. Coal production almost came to a standstill during the Depression years. Most mines closed, with only a few mines working one or two days a week. The mine closings brought much more hardship than unemployment alone; closed mining towns also meant the loss of a place to live and enough to eat. The coal industry never regained such power and influence with subsequent coal boom periods, which makes this model inappropriate for the time frame of this study.

During the 1930-1960 time frame, half of the population of Pike County was unemployed and receiving some type of relief from the government, while the other half of the population worked the only other jobs that were available: logging; subsistence farming; and education (Deskins, 1994). With over 200 schools in 1930, Pike County ISD began its position as the largest employer in the county, a position the district continues to hold. Despite difficult economic

conditions, attitudes of self-reliance, independence, and suspicion of government help were still highly valued. Although half of the population may not have valued education highly, half of the population considered education the pathway to continued self-reliance, independence, and a better way of life. The colonial model does not provide an explanation for these attitudes, motivations, and behaviors concerning education.

Underdevelopment Model.

The underdevelopment model focuses directly on the effect poverty has on schools due to lack of economic development (DeYoung, 1985, 1989, 1993). The model's premise of more economic development and growth generating revenues for the betterment of people's lives and the improvement of education sounds quite appropriate for the ills of Appalachia. DeYoung's (1985) study further describes the weaknesses of Appalachian education in relation to non-Appalachian education in Kentucky by comparing education and economic indicators of the two types of counties. Thus, the economic underdevelopment model explains influences of poverty and wealth, and how poverty contributes to poor schooling. The model assumes a solution: economic development will infuse money into the area as well as the schools, thereby improving conditions in the classroom, improving schools' test scores, and lowering the dropout rate. However, this model does not consider how geography and sparse population

hamper economic development in Pike County. DeYoung (1989, 1993) also expressed reservations about the feasibility of an economic solution.

In Pike County, as in many other Appalachian counties, half of the land is deeded to absentee owners (Appalachian Land Ownership Taskforce, 1988; Bradshaw, 1992). Pike County is extremely mountainous. The highest elevation is 3,149 feet, but the land is highly dissected with irregular narrow mountain ridges. Only 1% of the land is classified as farmland, with only .02% of the county actually under cultivation (Clements, 1990). Topsoil for farming is limited; bedrock is predominant everywhere except the bottomland in the valleys. The mountainous terrain is responsible for lack of roads, regular flooding, and blocking the opportunity for manufacturing and industry to settle in Pike County.

Having enough good roads and transportation routes throughout the county in order to attract another industry besides coal is economically and practically unfeasible; the topography of the county would have to be re-contoured at a high cost. Since rock is the foundation of most of the county and waterways are so plentiful, meeting the sewer needs for new industry is also problematic. Furthermore, Pike County cannot afford to offer tax incentives to new industry; the county needs tax monies to improve the school system and provide other services. Pike County desperately needs economic development, but cannot afford to subsidize new industry. While the underdevelopment model

explains how regional poverty affects schools, the model does not explain teacher motivations, attitudes, and behaviors.

Cultural Difference Model.

The cultural difference model addresses socio-cultural relationships and phenomena. The model assumes that the values and norms of a culture pass from generation to generation through socialization. Subsequently, the model assumes that the rural and poverty-based values of Appalachia are passed to the next generation, leaving them slow to accommodate changing conditions in order to take advantage of opportunities for improvement and modernization (Ball, 1969; DeYoung, 1981; Lewis, 1970; Reck & Reck, 1980; Silver & DeYoung, 1986). In the past, many people in Pike County saw change and improvement in education as another reason for the government to raise their taxes.

Ties to the land and family, as well as the traits of traditionalism, fundamentalism, and fatalism are important elements in the cultural difference model (Caldwell, 1930; Heller & Quesada, 1977). Traditionalism is the result of beliefs and customs being passed down from one generation to the next. Fundamentalism is the Protestant belief that emphasizes the literal interpretation of the Bible. Fatalism is the belief that fate, particularly God, determines the events in one's life. The mixture of traditionalism, fundamentalism, and fatalism was powerful and very evident in daily life in Appalachia between 1930-1960, and continues to be so (Batteau, 1983, 1985).

More importantly, these ingrained traits are not only coping mechanisms, but they also provide great comfort for a people who feel they have little to no control of their life. “That’s just the way it was” is the typical answer to a question in a culture with these beliefs. In my fieldwork I heard “That’s just the way it was,” and “It’s God’s will,” dozens of times in everyday conversations with the people of Pike County. The phrases do not necessarily have anything to do with religion, but reveal continued feelings of powerlessness and helplessness. The Appalachian belief system reflects a way of dealing with unemployment, poverty, limited opportunities, fires and flooding, and the harsh realities of a difficult life, as well as deflects any personal responsibility for these hardships.

However, Appalachian Kentucky had two cultural faces then, as well as now: the stereotypical face of powerlessness, dependence, unemployment, ignorance, and little regard for education versus the face of self-reliance, independence, hard-working, motivated, and a high regard for education for the betterment of their families’ lives. The self-reliant, hard-working side of the population wanted schools built, wanted their children educated, and held teachers in high esteem. The cultural difference model does not account for, nor explain, this section of the Appalachian population.

Towards a New Model

Certain attributes of each of the aforementioned explanatory models partly explain, but do not completely address the Pike County teachers’ experiences in

this study. However, none of the explanatory models consider geography in a theoretical discussion of behavior or education development. I argue that the most potent and far-reaching influence in Appalachian Kentucky is a combination of culture and geographic environment. The mountain terrain is responsible for population size and living patterns; school building placement; great wealth and terrible poverty; isolation of a people; and the regular and devastating floods. The particular human culture of Appalachian Kentucky is responsible for many of the decisions and responses concerning the value and practicality of education. Consequently, culture and geography are actually inseparable in any investigation of education in Appalachia.

Geography's power over Pike County is not totally comprehended without the visual aid of maps and photographs, unless viewed first-hand (see figure 6.1). First, Pike County is almost totally mountainous. Only 1% of the land is suitable for farming and the only flat land is found on the narrow valley floors (Clements, 1990). Second, the county is literally covered by hundreds of waterways and creeks. Paths from water drainage are etched down the mountainsides and hollows, causing a patchwork of creeks that eventually empty into the Tug, Levisa, and Russell Forks, main tributaries of the Big Sandy River. The mountains and the water determine where people live, where transportation routes are possible, and where school buildings are placed. Flooding and erosion are

constant hazards to the land and the people. Nearly every facet of daily life is connected in some way to the mountain geography.

Therefore, I went in search for a more complete and relevant explanation of the phenomena and experiences of the Pike County teachers. According to a 1901 article “The Anglo-Saxons of the Kentucky Mountains: A Study in Anthropogeography” by Ellen Semple, both environmental determinism and cultural geography are valid theoretical perspectives of study (McNeil, 1989). American cultural geography focuses on exploring the way in which cultural groups create landscapes, or their environmental surroundings, and then have that landscape reinforce their cultural identity (Norton, 2000). In other words, cultural geography research explores how people live in, on, and as part of the world (Mitchell, 2000).

The principle concern for cultural geographers is describing and explaining the visible material landscapes that different people fashion from the physical geographic environment they occupy (Norton, 2000, p. 3). Making sense of people and the places they occupy is a goal that is achieved through analyses and understandings of cultural processes, cultural landscapes, and cultural identities; *cultural* being the point of emphasis and control (Carville, 1996). For example, all desert peoples do not experience the same culture. Environment alone cannot explain culture because identical environments often have different and distinct cultures. In simple terms, cultural geography is the study of

relationships between land and people and how people manipulate their environment (see figure 6.2).

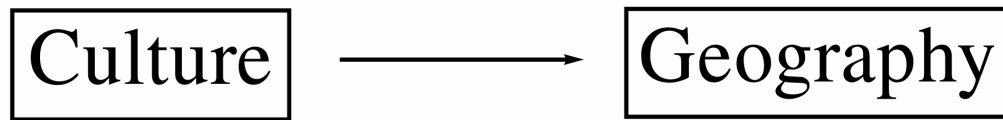


Figure 6.2

Cultural Geography Model

Environmental determinism argues that physical environment is the principal influence on human behavior and human landscape creation, and that humans are grounded in their physical environment. The theory of environmental determinism posits that specific cultural characteristics stem from environmental causes (Netting, 1986). For example, Eskimos' culture was created in response to harsh snow, ice, and temperatures. Thus, a similar culture should exist in an identical physical environment elsewhere. Therefore, environmental determinism supports the position that power and influence are on the geography side of the cultural geography equation. American anthropologist argued the first half of the 20th century that it is possible for the environment to permit certain cultural phenomena, however, that argument is apparently no longer supported (Netting, 1986) (see figure 6.3).

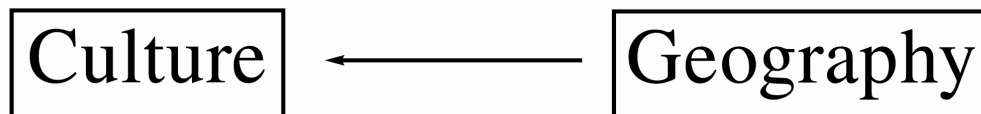


Figure 6.3

Environment Determism Model

Many researchers consider the relationship between people and geography as a truly interdependent natural-human system (Norton, 2000). I contend that full understanding of Appalachia is only possible through acknowledgement of that relationship and its intensity. The difference of opinion between present day cultural geography and environmental determinism seems to be the strength and direction of the influence between the culture and geography concepts. Still, neither model captures the full circumstance of the Appalachian education phenomena in this study.

I posit that a more useful explanation of the phenomena observed in this study is a model that blends cultural and environmental influences. School and teacher experiences in Appalachia are influenced by both culture and physical environment equally. Therefore, I propose a model of cultural environmentalism in which culture and geography have equal power, with influence between the two concepts cross directional (see figure 6.4).

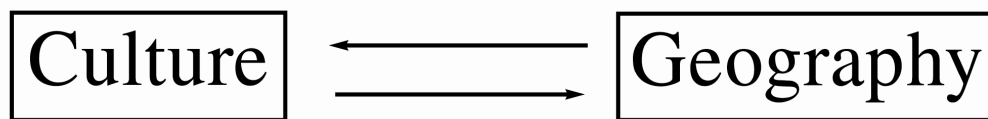


Figure 6.4

Cultural Environmental Model

**A Cultural Environmental Explanation for Schools in
Appalachian Kentucky, 1930-1960**

The Appalachian cultural landscape is the juxtaposition of geography and culture, giving it a specific look (Arnold, 1996; Carville, 1996). Although Sauer (1925), the father of cultural geography, expressed: “Culture is the agent, the natural area is the medium, and cultural landscape is the result,” the comment gives no weight or direction of influence between concepts (p. 46). The cultural environmental model I propose gives equal weight to culture and geography with paths of influence cross directional. The teacher experiences, as well as the themes that emerged from the data in this study, are best explained through cultural environmentalism, not cultural geography or environmental determinism.



6.5 Community of Hardy in eastern Pike County, 2002

Examples of geographic influence in the data were quite specific. House and school building placement were beside creeks and roads or stacked-up the

mountainside from the lack of flat land and the multitude of waterways (see figures 6.5 and 6.6). Building foundations were often high and built up with stone for some measure of flood protection and water run-off, as well as providing additional usable space under the house. Front yards and playgrounds of any size were severely limited. Between the 1930s and the 1960s, building materials were mostly wood, and heat was supplied by coal, since both were abundant.



6.6 Southside Elementary School, 2002

Once packaged foods and automobiles were introduced, the only places to throw garbage, trash, discarded junk, appliances, and tires were by the roadsides, riverbanks, and down gullies. There was no such thing as garbage pick-up in the rural mountains since there was simply no space for large community dumps. Finally, the mountain views were dotted with tipples, which are the tall, corrugated-metal buildings at the mouth of coal mines that house conveyor belts

for sorting coal and dumping the slag and coal dust down the mountainside (see figure 6.7). Coal dust permeated the air for miles, coating everything in soot.



6.7 Massey Coal Company at Sidney, 2002

The following sections revisit the themes uncovered in data analysis with a cultural environmental lens and explore the implications of that analysis for schools today.

Family, Community, and Caring.

The connection of family and teaching experiences was the most common theme in the data, and also represented the largest percentage of the dialogue. This makes sense in a culture where residential living clusters are commonplace and kinship ties are historically strong. The family, community, and caring data were the most compelling subject areas, and evoked strong feelings in many of

the teachers. The depth of the family and teaching connection was surprising and questioned the source responsible for the phenomenon. Both culture and geography contributed equally to the strength of family, community, and caring in Pike County education between 1930-1960.

Kinship ties were also very strong in Pike County at this time. Brothers, sisters, and extended family members spent a great deal of time together not only because of living and working in close proximity, but also because they were closest friends from childhood through adulthood. Extended family members were often mentors and admired by the younger family members. Moreover, the family supported one another no matter what. When one of the teachers remarked, “Family is family in the mountains,” I knew exactly what that phrase meant. Family is first priority above all else – a value passed from generation to generation. Therefore, family was connected to every facet of life.

Most areas of Pike County were isolated and closed in the 1930s through the 1960s. The only jobs available outside the professions were in coal mining, logging, and teaching, and teachers were always scarce. Hundreds of teachers were needed in the outlying rural schools in the 1930s, and no college education was necessary. Between the isolation and lack of roads, the most obvious source for finding teachers was in the small communities where the rural schools were located. With family residential clusters in the mountains and hollows, finding a pattern of teaching within families is understandable.

Culture and geography also explained the community and teaching phenomenon. Small mountain communities dot the county, separated by creeks, mountains, and hollows, and family residential clusters were responsible for many of those communities. Teachers were drawn from the community to teach in the community schools. Thus, the teachers taught students they had known for years or to whom they were related. A strong sense of community naturally occurred from the isolation and the cultural value of helping one another, and to some degree being kin. Additionally, nearly everyone in the same mountain community was in the same circumstances – poor.

A strong sense of community may also be in some part connected to how caring and family are connected to teaching. Tight-knit communities were inevitable due to the residential clusters and isolation. Both the residential clusters and close communities were influenced by culture and environment. Again, culture and environment cannot be separated in this assumption, and one is no more influential than the other. Most circumstances, behaviors, and decisions in education in Pike County from 1930-1960 were the result of this fusion of Appalachian culture and Appalachian geography.

Teachers and Teaching Experiences.

From 1930-1960, the Pike County teachers were able to teach in quite difficult situations with little to no experience or training. Yet, they perceived their experiences as nothing out of the ordinary. Teaching eight grades with as

many as fifty students was no simple task. In the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s, most of the rural schools were short of supplies, materials, and books, had poor lighting, and was either too hot or too cold (Biennial 1931-1959; McVey, 1949). Not all of the school buildings were safe or considered fit. Yet, the attitude of the teachers was apparently much like Pauline Moore's, "I taught all subjects. I taught as long as I had a room full of kids, and books, and a chalkboard, and some chalk. That's all I needed."

The difficult conditions were what they knew; they had no other frame of reference for teaching. The experiences are only extraordinary from a present day view. If this is the case, what can be learned from these Appalachian teachers is that little is impossible in teaching; good teaching cannot be denied. The overall implication of the Pike County teachers' experiences may be that caring and strong relationships in the community facilitate learning, especially when there is little other assistance.

A large amount of the teachers' dialogue focused on discipline, and rightly so if Betty Tanner's opening quote in Chapter Five is correct. Again, culture dominated the practice. Corporal punishment was the norm in the school, in the home, and in the fundamentalist religion. Thus, change was naturally very difficult for the teachers, and there was no pressure to do so. In fact, corporal punishment continues today in the Pike County schools, although to a much lesser degree than in the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s.

Principals are the main administrators of corporal punishment today, and written guidelines for spankings are now in place. Other disciplinary measures are tried first. However, an important element is missing today that was very important in the disciplinary experiences of the study participants. The Pike County teachers knew their students and the students' parents for years. They performed their own discipline in the classroom, and the students *knew* the teachers cared about them. Physical punishment without caring is certainly not positive, but what may be learned from the Pike County teachers is that knowing and caring is necessary for any effective discipline.

School – A Home Away From Home.

This study illustrates how the teachers, students, parents, and even the state education agencies perceived school during the 1930s, 1940, and 1950s in Appalachian Kentucky. Rural schools really were a home away from home for both students and teachers. Many rural school buildings looked like houses; the teacher took on the role of parent; and students behaved like siblings, and very often were siblings. In fact, older students often brought preschool siblings to school because their job at home was to watch over the younger children. The school served as a small community where everyone knew one another. A large part of teaching in Pike County in 1930-1960 not only included academic subjects, but also included everyday life skills instruction in morals, the Bible, caring and helping one another, citizenship, manners, and responsibility.

Although rural schools at that time were generally criticized for having little to no extra-curricular activities compared to larger consolidated or urban schools, the Pike County teachers explained that the rural schools had many activities separate from academics during the school day. Many of these activities were activities that were also taught in the home. Several teachers mentioned an active 4-H club with activities that included cooking, canning, sewing, citizenship, hygiene, and agricultural projects. The agriculture extension agent visited the classroom and even the parents occasionally visited to discuss farming or relevant topics. The students were responsible for keeping the “school home” clean, the playground clear of refuse and weeds, and helping with special school repairs and painting projects.

The home environment and activities of the rural school were also culturally linked. The rural schools were isolated and served communities isolated by geography. Moreover, residential clusters of only a few families formed many communities, and teachers usually lived in the communities where they taught. Discussion of news and events of the day were usually local. School subjects, such as reading, were often taught with folk tales, mountain stories, and legends passed down from generation to generation. The teachers themselves were products of the rural mountain school, and many taught the way they were taught. The rural schools were poor, but they served a poor population. The teachers understood poverty and mountain ways. This cultural and environmental

milieu was powerful. Despite the push for urban-model schools, modernization, meritocracy, and bureaucratization outside of the Appalachian Mountains, little changed in the Pike County schools until the 1950s.

Implications of the Findings

For Teachers.

The experiences of Pike County teachers in this study reveal the possibilities and resilience in teaching. First, teaching is possible regardless of poverty, the environment, or lack of training. The majority of the Pike County teachers taught in very difficult situations, yet they did not complain. “That’s just the way it was.” All of the teachers in this study worked until retirement, which ranged from twenty-five to thirty-five years of service.

Secondly, teaching in familiar circumstances provides a better understanding of students. Being part of the same cultural background enhanced the Pike County teachers’ effectiveness and success. Betty Tanner asserted that a teacher must *know* the child before they can effectively teach the child, and these teachers knew most of their students and students’ families for years. Students were often neighbors and family. Moreover, teaching was emotionally rewarding and not just a job. The teachers in this study loved teaching, regardless of the poor salaries or harsh conditions. They believed their positions were important, and they made an important contribution to their communities. The teachers saw first-

hand the growth of the children and the results of their teaching over the years, and they felt the respect of the community.

For Students.

Implications for students are generally positive, with one serious drawback. Curriculum and methods continued to improve over the years, as well as certification standards for teachers. Thus, the quality of teaching improved. Student enrollment and attendance increased, dropout rates continued to decrease, and the safety and physical conditions of the school buildings greatly improved between 1930 and 1960. The school term gradually increased each decade. However, legislation was necessary to bring about every one of these positive changes. In other words, force was necessary for change.

School consolidation brought an expanded curriculum to the schools. But school consolidations also closed the community school and the community environment that nurtured the students came to an end. With the advent of relatively good roads throughout the county, most students rode long distances on school buses to school. Teachers no longer necessarily lived in the communities where they taught because of improved roads and transportation. Parents were no longer physically close to the schools, decreasing parent participation and support. The special connectedness between student, teacher, and community disappeared.

For Pike County.

Economic opportunities are still relatively few in Pike County, and the school district is still the largest employer in the county. The coal industry is no longer as vital to the county's economy due to automation, fewer employees needed, and the nation's reduced use of coal. Population in the county has decreased every decade since the great exodus of the 1950s. The combination of declining population and no increase in economic opportunities translates into a declining tax base and less money for the school district. Consequently, the more educated citizens and the young people continue to leave the county.

This study also suggests that hiring teachers from the community is more desirable. Local teachers with the same background as their students know and understand their students better than non-local teachers. However, the ability to continue to hire teachers locally in Pike County is changing for two reasons. First, the general population and school census in Pike County continue to drop. Secondly, graduates in education at Pikeville College continue to decline; there was only one in 2002.

For Kentucky.

Implications of this study for the state of Kentucky are not necessarily positive ones. The majority of the people that leave Pike County are the young people, looking for work opportunities and a better way of life. The exodus that started in the 1950s continues. Consequently, the population that remains grows older. Fifty percent of the Pike County population receives some type of

government relief (Deskins, 1994). The lack of a sufficient tax base to provide for an education system to keep up with wealthier counties means the state government will need to continue to supplement large amounts of money to the Pike County school system, as well as other poor Appalachian county school systems. With little to no economic growth for decades, the economic problems of Pike County appear unsolvable.

The state also needs to look closer at the feasibility of paying for large school consolidation projects in poor Appalachian school districts. Pike County is an excellent case in point. Clayton Little, a state legislator for thirty years and Vocation Education Director for PCISD that I met on my preliminary study visit in 2001, explained a disturbing situation. Three new consolidated high schools were built in the last five years with federal and state monies. The annual cost of operating and maintaining the three schools is over three million dollars a year; an amount the school district cannot afford. To make matters worse, Rosalind Stanley, PCISD Communications Director, relates that many of the classrooms in these schools are empty; the schools are too large. Mr. Little wonders how the county will pay the annual operating and maintenance costs of the three schools. The school district cannot afford such costs.

Finally, the Kentucky State Department of Education also needs to consider other alternative school models for mountain and rural areas other than the urban model. Appalachian schools' needs and students are different from

urban/suburban schools and students. The education departments of the state universities and colleges should offer courses on the Appalachian student. Understanding the culture and the students' needs is essential for anyone planning to teach in Appalachia. The "one best system" ignores the Appalachian culture and environment, and does not address what is in the best interest of the students, the teachers, or the community (Tyack, 1974).

Rural education and education in Appalachian Kentucky between 1930 and 1960 were similar in many ways. Comparable school buildings, limited teacher qualifications, rural familism with strong community ties, and a curriculum based on daily life were but a few commonalities. A family-like classroom atmosphere was natural to both rural and Appalachian education. The two communities possessed the characteristics of agrarian societies of autonomy and kinship; where physical work was highly valued and families had low education expectations for their children. My research results seem to agree with previous rural education research. Nevertheless, documentation on isolated Appalachian Kentucky schools is valuable because of the absence of such documentation in the education literature.

Addressing the Research Questions

The data gathered by the Pike County teachers' interviews revealed the experiences of the teachers during the study's time frame of 1930-1960. Chapters Four and Five provide informative sections of interview dialogue and discuss

those experiences. The teachers reflected overall positive teaching experiences despite poverty, inadequate supplies and teaching conditions, or inadequate teaching preparation. The Pike County teachers were motivated on several levels. The first motivation was the ability to find a job in a county with few job opportunities. However, the second motivation was a combination of emotional motivations. The teachers truly cared for the children, and believed they were contributing to the children's lives, as well as to the community. In return, the community respected the teachers and appreciated their contributions. In the study's time frame, teachers held a high position in the community.

Environment and culture were considerable influences on teacher behavior and decision-making in education in Pike County. The mountain environment that isolated communities and produced residential clusters led to a high number of isolated rural schools to serve those communities. Teachers were usually hired from the community, so the mountain teacher knew everyone in the community and students were often kin. Knowing the students and students' families, as well as having the same frame of reference, definitely affected teacher behavior, as discussed in Chapter Four.

Culture affected decision-making in education to a great extent. Hiring practices, curriculum and instruction, and disciplinary practices were a few of these decisions. The use of Bible stories, folk tales, and legends coupled with agricultural and Appalachian subjects are examples of cultural influence on

decision-making for teachers, students, and the community. Chapter Five discussed these phenomena more extensively.

The combination of Appalachian culture and Appalachian environment not only contributed to the teachers' experiences in this study, but also is responsible for those experiences being different from the rest of Kentucky and the country. The many mountain communities had their own local schools because there were no roads connecting them to one another or to a more populated area. Local schools hired local teachers that reflected local values and behaviors. No roads delayed the consolidation of schools in Pike County well after consolidation in the rest of the nation, and maintained the rural mountain school model rather than copying the urban model. Cultural and environmental conditions particular to Pike County determined particular teacher experiences that were different than non-Appalachian areas.

Suggestions for Further Research

This study focused on teachers' experiences and education in Pike County, Kentucky through the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s. Continuing the research on Pike County for the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s would complete the research on Pike County up to the passage of the Kentucky Education Reform Act (KERA) in the 1990s. Subsequently, identical research on other Appalachian Kentucky county school districts would provide data for further and up-to-date comparison analyses between Appalachian and non-Appalachian counties. Additionally, more

education histories and research of this type on other Appalachian Kentucky county school districts would fill a large gap in present research.

Conclusion

We are told by many people in our life to “learn from the past.” The other half of that sentiment is “so we will not repeat mistakes.” There is much more to learn from history than that sentiment alone. One goal of this study was to determine if geography and culture affected the teaching experiences of the participants, and if so, how.

The data in this study suggests that geography and culture did indeed affect the teachers’ experiences, as they would anywhere. Motivations of the Pike County teachers varied and were not always clear. However, the data suggest three motivations. First, the teachers found jobs and a way to make a living in a county with few economic opportunities. Secondly, the teachers believed they definitely made an important contribution to their communities. And finally, the teachers were proud of their work at a time when teaching garnered much respect from the community.

The blended cultural environmental model maintains that environment and culture do affect human behavior and decision-making in equal proportion. Traditionalism, fundamentalism, and fatalism are longtime cultural traits in Pike County that have guided teacher behavior, influenced decision-making, and formed their experiences. These traits are still influential today. However, these

traits are not the only influential cultural traits in Appalachian counties. Self-reliance, independence, and a make-do attitude are influential traits that are not explained in other models. Relationships between teaching and family, teaching and community, and teaching and the care ethic were also discovered. Essentially, the data found these three phenomena were interrelated. Teacher characteristics and teaching environment characteristics were also related, with geography and culture as equally contributing factors to consider.

Pike County schools had little in common with the urban education model during the 1930s and 1940s in terms of building facilities or hiring patterns. Meritocracy, bureaucracy, and professionalism of teaching did not begin to creep into Pike County until the 1950s. Nevertheless, Appalachian culture and geography formed a potent mixture that influenced education and teaching. The cultural environmental model may not be generalized to other populations or situations because the model depends on specific geography and culture. Thus, this study provided comprehensive data and analysis for a specific place and time that is absent in the research literature.

The specific culture and geography of Appalachia contributed to an educational pattern of small rural schools that cared for students, but did not necessarily offer the most modern education methods or opportunities. This study illuminated education in Pike County, Kentucky from 1930-1960 through the

perceptions of the teachers who taught in those classes. Moreover, the study adds to the knowledge about Appalachia by listening to the teachers' voices.

One's Position in Life Defines One's Meaning in Life (Hall, 1996)

I found Stuart Hall's quote at the beginning of this chapter very profound in the context of this study. As previously mentioned, listening to the teachers' experiences gave me an understanding of my own teaching experiences and deep feelings about teaching. My own cultural background and position in life contributed to understanding and interpreting the experiences of the Pike County teachers. Their position in life was as teachers; many of them would say that teaching *was* their life. The cultural identity as Appalachian teachers gave their lives meaning. When I stated at the beginning of this study that Appalachia was always just below my emotional and intellectual surface, I did not have a full understanding of what that meant – it was a feeling. Hall's quote gave my feelings meaning and identity, and describes the lives of the Pike County teachers, as well.

Appendix A – Alan DeYoung’s Body of Work

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Appendix B

Participants, Schools Taught, and Years Service

Georgia Muncy Bailey 1945-1976	Brushy Creek – Piso Harliss Creek Buck Lick Creek Cassity Shelbiana Consonlidated Mullins Consolidated
Dean Belcher 1958-1988	Little Beaver Creek Elkhorn CityHigh School John Moores Branch Elkhorn City Elementary Greasy Creek
Callie Blankenship 1953-1988	Camp Creek – Argo Stop Over Majestic Consolidated
Katie Coleman 1955-1990	Beaver Creek Hellier High School Millard High School
Walter Coleman 1959-1990	Hellier High School Millard High School
Lola Doan Tackett 1943-1963	Long Fork Virgie Elementary Belfry High School Virgie High School Feds Creek
Garnett Griffith 1937-1976	Head of Long Fork Pond Creek Johns Creek Kimper

Patty Justice
1955-1985

Head of Greasy Creek
Freeburn Consolidated
Grapevine Consolidated
McCarr
Big Greasy at Hatfield
Bevins

Stewart Laferty
1952-1981

Pauley Head of Rockhouse
Pigeon Roost
Johns Creek
Bevins

Pauline Moore
1941-1985

Majestic
Phelps

Madge Mullins
1947-1988

Elkhorn City High School

Paul Potter
1948-1995

Elkfoot
Cumberland Grade School
Elkhorn City Elementary

Phenis Potter
1955-1981

Mullins
Feds Creek

LaVern Ratliff
1953-1991

Elkhorn City High School

Gertrude Rowe
1938-1990

Ventors
Hellier
Elkhorn City High School
Elkhorn City Elementary

Betty Tanner
1941-1986

Grapevine
Freeburn

APPENDIX C

Subjects interviewed on preliminary trip

Bruce Hopkins, Public Relations Director for Pike County ISD.

Clayton Little, Dir. of Vocational Education, State Legislator 30 years.

Connie Maddox, archival librarian at Pikeville College.

Jane Compton Wilson, friend and teacher in Pike County for 28 years.

Rosalind Stanley, friend and Communications Dir. for Pike County ISD.

Daryl Boggs, Assistant Superintendent of Letcher County ISD

Doug Wright, Voc-Education Director, Letcher County ISD.

Karen Cline Mills, friend and teacher in Martin County for 28 years.

John Cline, Principal of two elementary schools in Martin County.

Sheldon Hardin, Assistant Superintendent of Martin County ISD.

Appendix D

DISCIPLINE: THE GREATEST KILLER OF TEACHERS

The greatest teacher in the world cannot teach unless good classroom discipline is maintained. Likewise, a good disciplinarian does not necessarily make a good teacher. Although none of the following principles is new; how many of them do you as a teacher apply?

1. Learn all you can about previous school experiences of your students. (But do not let this bias you.)
2. Be prepared for class. Ten seconds of idle time can develop into ten minutes of problems.
3. Make your assignments reasonable and clear.
4. Be a good and neat dresser. Be businesslike and be friendly.
5. Be prepared for the unexpected. (Whatever it may be!)
6. Keep rules to a minimum. Basic rules are needed, but many rules have no real purpose.
7. Be consistent. (For 180 school days!)
8. You're a fool if you punish the entire class for the actions of a few.
9. Never say anything to a student in front of a class that you would not say in the presence of his or her parents.
10. Never, never, never humiliate a student in front of others.
11. Students have plenty of buddies. Don't be a buddy; be a teacher.
12. Don't be afraid to apologize.
13. Use the telephone. Let the parents work with you.
14. Never argue with a student in front of the class. The odds are 25 to 1 that you'll lose.
15. Believe it or not -- don't see and hear everything.
16. Be enthusiastic. It's contagious.
17. Don't be a screamer. A barking teacher does nothing but make noise.
18. Don't make study a punishment. You cannot motivate a student to learn a punishment. Think about that statement.
19. Know your students' hobbies, interests, problems, friends, etc. and show an interest in these things.
20. Keep administrators informed when dealing with problem students.

Appendix E

100 Ways to Say "Good"

Great!
How about that!
Super!
I love it!
Good!
Good job, _____!
Excellent.
Wow!
Better.
Best ever.
Best yet.
Winnerful, winnerful.
Fantastic!
Wonderful!
Good work.
Much better,
Purr...fect.
Love it.
I'm impressed.
Worthy of commendation.
Shows great effort, _____.
Neat.
You're improving.
You've got it.
Seeme (you swaerve a hug)
You're a sweetheart.
Beautiful.
You've made my day.
Thanks, I needed this.
Good paper, _____!
Bravo!
Show this to Mom and Dad.
Superior.
Complete.
Enjoyable.
Thoughtful.
Outstanding.
O.K.
Nice.
Fine.
Interesting.
Very colorful.
100% (or 110%)
Charming.
Delightful.
True.
Marvelous!
Go ahead.
Brilliant.
Uh huh.

Allright!
Likeable.
A-1
That's right.
100% correct.
Keep going.
Positively.
Of course.
Cool.
Tough.
Exciting.
Superb.
Pleasant.
First class job!
Now you're really trying.
Special job.
Thinking.
Good answers.
Swell job!
Tasty.
Nifty.
Keep it up.
Splendid.
Well thought out.
Exactly.
Clever.
Pleasing.
Thanks.
Thank you.
Prize job.
Blue ribbon paper.
Top notch.
Continue.
Worthwhile.
Good performance.
Imaginative.
Original.
Maginative.
I like it!
Right!
Fantastic.
My kind of paper!
Sacre bleu
You bet!
Right on.
Grrreat!
100% better.
Lovely.
Impressive.
Ideal.

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_____, 1943-1945. Frankfort, KY: Capitol Printing.

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VITA

Constance Elam was born in Owensboro, Kentucky on February 14, 1950. After graduating Daviess County High School in 1968, she entered Eastern Kentucky University in Richmond, Kentucky on Presidential Scholarship and the work-study program. She was a member of the synchronized swim team and Eta Sigma Gamma, a health education honor society. She received her degree of Bachelor of Science in Health Education and Special Education from Eastern Kentucky University in May 1973. The next ten years she taught health education and special education in the states of Florida, South Carolina, Georgia, and North Carolina.

From 1983 to 1997, Constance left teaching to be a stay-at-home mom to her three children, volunteered at the children's schools and in the community, and managed the family rental properties and investments. She started up three successful businesses during her hiatus from teaching: a large day care center, a maid service, and a vending company. Each business was sold when the family relocated.

Constance entered the University of Texas at San Antonio, Texas in 1997 and graduated with a 4.0 grade point average and a Masters of Education degree in May 1999. In September 1999, she entered the Graduate School of The University of Texas at Austin, Texas. While a graduate student, she presented a paper at the annual meeting of the Midwest History of Education Society in 2000, and that paper was published in their journal American Education History in

2001. Constance served one semester as research assistant to Mary S. Black, Ed.D., and was invited and initiated into Phi Kappa Phi and Kappa Delta Pi honor societies. She plans to continue research and writing on Appalachian Kentucky education history.

Permanent Address: 31511 Wild Oak Hill, Fair Oaks Ranch, Texas 78015

This dissertation was typed by the author.